

The Classical Review

DECEMBER, 1914

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

PLUTARCH, MORALIA.¹

Plutarch, *Moralia*. Bernardakis. 7 vols. 1888-1896. Teubner Text.

7E. πῶς ἀλλοτρίοις should follow πῶς φίλοις.

8B. ὦν ἐκάτερος (which is not to be altered to ἄτερος with Wyttenbach and others) is slightly out of place. Put it after Συρακόσιος and there ceases to be any difficulty, for Archytas, like Dion, was an associate of Plato.

9A. The present κλανθυρίζωσις is needed.

13B. Flatterers (κόλακες) of youth are spoken of as ὡς ἐκ λυρικῆς τέχνης ἐπὶ τοὺς νέους ἀγόμενοι. λυρικῆς is clearly wrong and has puzzled scholars a good deal. Does it stand for αὐλικῆς, a courtier's art? Α and Λ are very often confused.

21B.

δεινὸς γὰρ ἔρπειν πλοῦτος ἔς τε τὰ βατὰ καὶ πρὸς τ' ἄβαρα χῶπόθεν πένης κ.τ.λ.

This is usually corrected to ἔς τε τὰβαρα | καὶ πρὸς τά—, leaving it very doubtful what βατα stands for (βάσιμα, βέβηλα, which gives an anapaest in the second foot). I would emend Sophocles' lines rather differently:

ἔς τε τὰ βατὰ καὶ
πρὸς τὰβαρα <ἐστὶ>.

¹ A few other notes on the *Moralia* will be found in a scattered form in my *Aristophanes and Others*: see the *Index* under *Plutarch*.

τὰ ἄβαρα should certainly come second, not first, if it can. χῶπόθεν seems to me right: the words describe an awkward and difficult place.

41A. δεῖ τὸν μὲν ἔπαινον ἀφελῶς τοῖς λέγουσι, τὴν δὲ πίστιν εὐλαβῶς προέσθαι τοῖς λόγοις.

ἀφελῶς is quite senseless here and represents ἀφειδῶς. Δ and Λ get confused like Α and Λ (13B above).

48E. τῷ σφόδρα φιλεῖν ἑαυτὸν . . . φάσκοντι συγγνώμην ἅπαντας ὁ Πλάτων διδόναι φησί.

May one guess that φάσκοντι stands for δοκοῦντι, miswritten under the influence of the coming φησί?

62D. οὐ διδόνς ἐτέρῳ τόπον οὐδὲ χώραν διακονίας (of a κόλαξ). τόπον and χώραν being the same thing, I conjecture that one of them, probably χώραν, stands for χρόνον.

87D. Before εὐλαβούμενον ζῆν something has been lost, ποιῶν, or ποιεῖ γάρ, or to that effect.

90C. δι' ἀσθένειαν θυμοῦ.

θυμοῦ, which makes no sense here, is due to θυμοῖς in the line before. Plutarch may have written λογισμοῦ, but various words would do.

94E. For καὶ γάρ read ὥς γάρ. οὕτως calls for something of the sort.

96D. τὴν αὐτῆς κοινωνίαν.

I do not think Plutarch allows the personal pronoun in this place. Read ταύτης or move αὐτῆς.

109D. In the verse οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ζῶειν καλὸν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ γονεῦσι it is fairly clear that we should read αὐτῷ καλόν.

110A. It is odd that Epicharmus' tetrameter has not been corrected to a proper metrical form by writing ἦνθεν for ἦνθε—συνεκρίθη καὶ διεκρίθη ἀπῆνθεν ὅθεν ἦνθεν πάλιν.

119E. προειληφέναι is unsuitable and simply due to προειλήφασιν immediately following. ὑπειληφέναι would do (so Madvig, I find), or any word with that sense.

127C. οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ναύκληροι.

Not ἀγαθοὶ but a disparaging epithet is required by the context. Very unlikely words have been suggested, ἄθλιοι, ἄθριοι, ἀπλοιοι. ἀμαθείς or ἀνόητοι would seem more suitable.

140B. Read τοῦ (for τὸ) συνακολουσταινεῖν—οὐ μεταδιδόασιν. The verb takes a genitive just below and—in this sense—always.

152D. οὐπω γέγραφας ὅτι ὅμοιον οἰκέτας μὴ μεθύειν, ὡς ἔγραψας Ἀθήνησιν οἰκέτας μὴ ἐρᾶν μηδὲ ξηραλοφεῖν.

ὡς might go with something like ὅμοιον, but ὅτι ὅμοιον makes no sense. Wyttenbach ὥδε (here, I think) νόμον, but ὥδε was not at all likely to appear as ὅτι. ὅτι νόμιμον is not likely, because νόμιμον ἐστὶ μὴ . . . would mean it is lawful, permissible, not to do so and so. ὅμοιον is perhaps not a simple corruption, but due to the following ὅμοιον (or ἀνόμοιον, as Wyttenbach rightly says it should be), and in its place ἀπειρημένον may be conjectured.

171E. Does μάλλον stand for ἀλλήλαις?

181C. νῦν, ἔφη, κ.τ.λ. νῦν by itself seems wrong. νῦν οὖν or νῦν γε?

182C. ἔστω for ἔσται?

Ib. ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε χειμῶνος ἐν τόποις σπανίζουσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἠνάγκασε καταξεύξαι, κ.τ.λ.

Antigonus is taken to be the subject of the verb. But it is fairly certain, I think, that we should read ἠναγκάσθη, or else χειμῶν.

Ib. D. Without knowing that Cobet had done the same, I have before corrected μαστιγοῦσθαι to μεμαστιγῶσθαι.

185A. πότερον <ἄν> ἤθελες, like ἐβούλετ' ἄν. In 188D write again <ἄν> ἤθελεν. ἄν has already been added to ἡξιούμεν in 220E.

190A and 221F. οὐδ' εἰ has but little point. Is it a corruption of νῆ Δί' εἰ, the νῆ Δία found in 212E and other versions of the story cited by Wyttenbach?

191B and 211F. ἥρκει for ἀρκεῖ.

Ib. D. (τοῦτό μοι μνημεῖον ἐστὶ). Even without 215A, where the same story recurs, it would be plain enough that we want ἔσται.

In 195A we should probably read λυσίτελές ἐσται.

Just in the same way immediately above (191D. παρατάξας . . . καὶ πρὸς ἴσους ἴσοι ἀγωνισάμενοι ἐνίκησαν), common sense, the use of the exact words in 215A, and the double hiatus all show that ἴσοις ἀγωνισάμενος ἐνίκησεν should be read.

200A. τριβόλοις σιδηροῖς? μὴ σύ is no doubt (Wyttenbach) another version of μέσου.

Ib. c. Has it really not been seen that we should read ἐπαγγελόμενον?

206B. μάλλον ἂν ἐβουλόμην πρῶτος ἐνταῦθα εἶναι ἢ δεύτερος ἐν Ῥώμῃ.

I have suggested βουλοίμην in these words as they appear in Caesar's *Life* (Class. Quart. 4. 19). The imperfect implies that he actually was, or had been, second at Rome, and this cannot well be right.

208B. πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα (asked) πῶς ἂν τις ἀδουρφόρητος ὢν ἄρχειν δύναίτο, 'ἐὰν οὕτως,' ἔφη, 'αὐτῶν ἀρχῇ, ὥσπερ οἱ πατέρες τῶν νιῶν.'

Read ἀστῶν or rather τῶν ἀστῶν, the confusion being quite common.

210A. ἀντὶ ταύτης τῆς διαίτης . . . τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀμώμεθα.

The suggested μώμεθα (Valckenaer) does not seem quite good. We want some verb of 'getting' rather than 'desiring.' I should think of πώμεθα, if there were any example cited of the present tense of that verb (πέπαμαι, etc.), it being specially Doric; and it seems not unlikely. We might think of ὠνούμεθα, possibly of κτώμεθα.

Ib. B. ἄλλον δὲ προτρεπομένου ἀνίστασθαι καὶ λέγοντος διὰ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἀδελφὸν μήποτε τούτου καιρὸς γένηται, 'ἀλλ' ἐγὼ,' εἶπεν, 'έμαντὸν ἐθίζω λέγων ὥστ' ἐν μηδεμιᾷ μεταβολῇ μεταβολὴν ζῆτείν.'

The general sense appears fairly well from the context, but λέγων cannot be right and μήποτε . . . γένηται has no construction. The former stands for ζῶν, or something similar, corrupted perhaps through λέγοντος preceding. To supply a construction we might insert before μήποτε something like φυλάττεσθαι δεῖν.

213B. μᾶλλον τοὺς Μήδους λακωνίζειν.

I was wrong before in proposing to alter the parallel passage in *Vit. Artax.* 22, as this and *Ages.* 23 show.

215E. αἱ κατοικοῦσαι, not αἱ κατοικοῦσι.

219F. In εἰ μὴ τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλλαγὰς ποιήσονται, the article is surely strange. τινάς? ταχύ?

220F. ταυτὸν ἐστὶ <τῷ> . . . μάχεσθαι.

222A. Wytttenbach proposed αὐτὸς αὐτόθι for οὗτος οὗτοι. αὐτόθι may be better. But there is no point in αὐτός, and, as οὗτος and οὐ get confused, we might think of an interrogative οὐκ. On the other hand, in 222D I think οὐχ οὕτω may be a mistake for ὅτι οὕτω.

224C. ὅσον γὰρ εἴη πρᾶγμα, τοσοῦτον καὶ ὁ λόγος ὃν χρῆσαι.

εἴη is scarcely grammatical. Either read ἂν ᾗ or put the εἴη before καὶ ὁ λόγος, understanding it in the semi-imperative sense which the optative has occasionally in prose (*Xen. An.* 3. 2. 37; *R. Eq.* 1. 8; *Plato Laws* 726 and several other places) and oftener in verse. τοσοῦτον should of course be τοσοῦτος. χρῆσαι might be one of several things, χρήσει, χρήσαι' ἂν, χρήσθαι δεῖ.

Ib. F. ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῖαν τις ἂν πόλιν οἰκήσας ἀσφαλῶς οἰκοίη.

Probably οἰκίσας. This is suggested both by the use of the aorist and by the futures following, which would naturally be presents, if it were a question of settling in some existing state that had a character already formed.

225B. οὕτω ought, one would think, to go in sense with ὀλίγων or πολλούς. In that case it should be moved.

226E. No doubt οὐδέ-οὐδέ has been corrected before now to οὔτε-οὔτε.

Ib. F. Logic requires γάρ for δέ after ἐκάκιζον. The two particles are apt to get confused. In 262B write τοῦτο δέ for τοῦτο γάρ.

227C. ὅπως ἂν μετριάξοιεν . . . καὶ . . . ἔχωσι.

I do not know if this syntax can be paralleled in the Plutarchian corpus. Without ἂν it would not be difficult.

228A. Is not something missing after ζητοῦντα?

Ib. C. I can hardly believe ἐκτίνει for ἐκτίσει to be right, though it is found in the *Life* too (49D). As there was no law on the subject, the present tense cannot answer to our 'under the law he pays so-and-so.'

Ib. E. περὶ τοῦ πένθους καὶ τῆς ἱεραουργίας.

Ib. F. ἦν δέ should apparently be εἶναι δέ in spite of the *Life* 54A.

230B. Νίκανδρος, εἰπόντος τινὸς ὅτι κακῶς αὐτὸν λέγουσιν Ἀργεῖοι, 'οὐκοῦν,' ἔφη, δίκην τίνουσι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς κακῶς λέγοντες.

But this is the offence itself, not the punishment. The punishment for speaking ill of the good is that you have to speak well of the bad. Read therefore something like τοὺς κακοὺς ἀγαθά (possibly ἀγαθούς, or even ἀγαθῶς (*Aristotle*) λέγοντας.

231E. Either βαδίζω or βαδίζειν. In 232E κομᾶς should be κομᾶ, unless we are to read τίνας for ἄς (cf. next story); in 234D πεποίηκε for ἐπεποιήκει, unless ὅτι or ὡς has been lost after ἔλεγον.

232E. ἐπαινοῦντός τινος τοὺς ἀρίστους μαχητάς, Λάκων εἶπεν 'ἐν Τροίᾳ.' This is too incoherent to be right. As no one would praise 'the best fighters' in the abstract, ἐπαινοῦντος may be the seat of error. Should we read ἐπιζητούντος? Even so ἐν Τροίᾳ is not quite natural, and there may be some greater fault.

234D. ὁποῖος καθίστης has been emended by J. J. Hartman to κα ἴης, which may be right. I had previously

thought of some form of βαδίζω. In Aelian *V.H.* 9. 3 I have elsewhere suggested καθίζων for βαδίζων, and in Pherecr. *fr.* 36 the MSS. vary between the two words. Here in Plutarch we have βαδίζοντι following. ὁποῖός κα βαδίξης would be the natural thing.

In what follows, τὼς δὲ λαγὼς ἐπὶ τῇ σκηνᾷ θηρεύομεν, Bernardakis proposes τὰ εὐνᾶ. Rather ἐπὶ τὰς εὐνάς, or ἀπὸ τὰς εὐνάς.

237D. The first ὅπως (ὅπως τῶν αὐτοῦ) seems to be a mistaken anticipation of the second and perhaps to have taken the place of καί. From editors' notes it does not clearly appear whether ὅπως or ὥσπερ is in the MSS. ὥσπερ would come from the sentence before.

238E. μετεῖχε (twice) is undoubtedly a blunder for μετέχει. This confusion occurs sometimes.

263E. ἡ οὐκ should be ἡ ὅτι οὐκ.

272C. Write οὐκ ἔλαττον δὲ τούτου καὶ τὸ τοὺς κ.τ.λ.

275A. καρπῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ (not ἡ) γεωργίας.

283C. <ἡ> ἐξουσία. H lost after N.

It is a very violent expression for anyone on the popular side to use, if he says that a tribune of the *plebs* should καταπατεῖσθαι *be* (or *let himself be*) *trampled on*, when he merely means that the tribune should be modest and unassuming, not rival the consular dignity. Only enemies of the people could want to trample on him, and Curio would not wish them to have their way. The sense is expressed a line or two below by ἐκταπεινοῦνται τῷ σχήματι. Is it possible that καταπατεῖσθαι conceals something like καὶ (even) ταπεινοῦσθαι or καταταπεινοῦσθαι?

285B. ἀλλ' ἡ τὸ γήρας τὴν Κύπριν χαίρειν ἔῃ.

In this verse of Euripides ἀλλ' ἡ is obviously wrong. As ἄλλος and ὄλος get confused, should we write ὄλην?

290D. τοῖς τὸν ὑπέρτατον . . . εἰληφόσι θεραπεύειν θεόν.

Surely εἰληχόσι. The same mistake occurs in *Ar. Pol.* 7. 1. 1323^b 15 (some MSS.) and elsewhere. λαμβάνω θεραπεύειν is, I think, not even Greek.

294B. Madvig ἐμφανῆς for ἀφανῆς. Rather perhaps <οὐκ> ἀφανῆς.

295A. Write μνήμην καὶ δόξαν . . . καταστήσαι for καταστήναι.

306B. ἡρεμίας ὑπαρχούσης is the phrase used to describe the state of things when Othryades was left alone after the famous fight of Spartans and Argives. The regular word for being alone is ἐρημία (e.g. 376C διέτριβεν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ), and there can be no doubt that we should read that here.

307A. Insert σύν or ἅμα before τῷ ἄρματι.

308F. Insert στρατηγόν after ἐχειρότονησαν, as in E.

316C. κατηγορεῖται δ' ἀρετῇ μὲν ὡς καλὸν μὲν ἀνωφελὲς δέ, τύχῃ δ' ὡς ἀβέβαιον μὲν ἀγαθὸν δέ.

Both symmetry and the need of putting the more important word with δέ require us to transpose ἀγαθὸν and ἀβέβαιον.

317C. Constant Greek usage requires another transposition here, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς τοῦ προβλήματος, not τοῦ π. before ὥσπερ. Cf. 321C, 323E.

324F. ἵνα οὖν μὴ καιρῷ δοκῇ, νόμῳ δὲ λαμβάνειν ὁ ἀνὴρ μὴδ' ὡς ἀπεγνωκὼς τὴν πόλιν ὅπλοις ἀρχαιρεσιάζῃ τὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ σποράδος καὶ πλάνητος.

The latter half of this is very seriously wrong. One thing it is not difficult to put right. Some verb like ἀνασφῆξιν *to recover* has been lost before or after ὅπλοις; τὴν πόλιν depended on it, and at present ὅπλοις too has no construction at all. The rest is less easy to cure. The general sense makes it certain that ἀπεγνωκὼς does not refer to Camillus, as Madvig's ἀρχαιρεσιάζῃται presupposes, but to the people. Any feeling in Camillus' own mind is not at all to the point just here. Neither can ἀρχαιρεσιάζῃ here mean *canvass*, for there was no canvassing to be done nor was Camillus the man to do it. It is natural to think of ὁ δῆμος as the subject of ἀπεγνωκὼς ἀρχαιρεσιάζῃ; in that case those words (ὁ δῆμος) and others have been lost before τὰ. With τὰ again one thinks of μέρη or μόρια. But ἀπεγνωκὸτα . . . τὰ μέρη or ἀπεγνωκὸς . . . τὸ πλῆθος does not seem very likely. Finally the adjectives at the

end seem too loosely attached; but that depends on the other words.

326A. We ought to accept Abresch's interchange of διαφθαρῆναι and συγχυθῆναι: the former word is certainly wanted to apply to ὑπομνηματισμούς. Probably a participle in the sense of *composed* (e.g. γεγραμμένους) or *preserved* should follow or precede ὑπομνηματισμούς. The sense of τίθεμαι is also incomplete. Read <ταύτης> τίθεμαι, *I put down to chance*. So perhaps in 319F we should read τῆς τύχης. In B, a few lines below, the ὥς before πρόφασις should probably be καί. καί and ὥς are well known to be often interchanged.

327B. Ἰνδῶν πληγαὶ καὶ βίαι θυμῶν. θυμουμένων? θυμῷ καὶ βίᾳ occurs a little below.

Ib. D. Alexander conceived the idea of universal empire τοῖς τρισμυρίοις οἰεσθαι περὶ οὓς καὶ τετρακισχίλιους ἵππευσι πιστεύσας.

Nothing good has been made of οἰεσθαι. After πιστεύσας we should expect any infinitive to give the sense of 'trusting to *get, win*,' and then οἰεσθαι naturally suggests οἰσεσθαι, this being a common use of φέρομαι. But it might be some other word, e.g. κτήσεσθαι.

328B. Read καὶ ἀφ' ὧν . . . καὶ ἀφ' ὧν, not ἧ. This is plain in itself and further shown by the οὓς εἶπεν κ.τ.λ. below.

Ib. E. τέλεσι has been questioned, but it seems to have the special military sense, suitable here, of *companies* of men.

334E. ἐβουλόμην ἂν μᾶλλον ἀπολωλέναι μέρος τῆς βασιλείας.

Rather ἀπολωλεκέναι *to have lost*.

πάντων οἰόμενος δεῖν περιεῖναι, τοῦ δικαίου δ' ἡττᾶσθαι is incomplete until we read (say) ὅπλοις μὲν πάντων or make some other addition. I have elsewhere suggested πάντων <τῶν ἄλλων>.

336B. Read ὁ (for εἰ) μὲν γάρ. In 347B ὁ stands very similarly.

347B. It is difficult to see how ἄλαστον ἀγῶνα could grow out of the πολλὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα in Thuc. 7. 71: it points to

another reading or a lapse of memory. ἄλαστον itself too is hardly possible, and must stand for some other word. Bernardakis suggests πλείστον, but would πλείστος ἀγὼν instead of μέγιστος ἂ. be Greek? May it have been θαυμαστόν? θ might be absorbed in the very similar σ ending the word before, and λ gets confused sometimes with both μ and ν. But this is a very doubtful conjecture.

Ib. F. Read ἐγγὺς νῦν for ἐγγὺς οὖν, οὖν being hardly in place. Cf. on 181C.

Ib. Menander said 'my comedy is ready. I have arranged it all, and I have now only αὐτῇ τὰ στιχίδια ἐπᾶσαι.' ἐπᾶσαι does not seem to have been questioned, but it must be wrong, any use of ἄδω being quite unsuitable here. Perhaps it is only an accidental misreading of ποιῆσαι. Or should we read ἐπιποιῆσαι? The second or third syllable would easily fall out.

349F. ὅτε Καρκίνος Ἀερόπη συνῆν ἧ Ἑκτορι Ἀστυδάμας.

Aerope and Hector are plays exhibited by the two poets and συνῆν must conceal some word appropriate to this. There is no evidence that συνιέναι ever = ἀγωνίζεσθαι in general, or we might think of συνῆι. Perhaps ἡνήμερει, an almost technical word in this case.

351F. θεῖος and ὁσιος are so often confused that Bernardakis' ὁσιώσεως for θειώσεως is extremely probable, but his construction for it will not do. If right, it must have been governed by some word now lost, perhaps χάριν or ἔνεκα, perhaps a participle. The participial genitives may then agree with it, but Madvig's κολουύουσα . . . ἐθίζουσα is obvious and attractive.

355A. τὸν γάρ . . . "Οσιριν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκήπτρῳ γράφουσιν . . . τὸν δ' οὐρανὸν ὡς ἀγῆρων δι' αἰδιότητα καρδίᾳ θυμὸν ἐσχαρᾶς ὑποκειμένης.

In Wyttenbach's parallel passage θυμιατήριον answers to ἐσχαρᾶς here and does not seem to throw any light on θυμόν. The necessity of avoiding hiatus and the form of the whole sentence suggest that the word conceals some verb or other, and, that being so, σημαίνουσιν abbreviated seems possible. σ and θ were written so much alike that

the confusion is well known. The misreading is not worse than several others in the singularly corrupt text of this treatise.

355E. τῇ μὲν <οὖν>, or <καὶ> τῇ μὲν?

360B. ὑμνοῦνται <αἱ> πράξεις, as in the next clause.

361E. After πανταχοῦ μὲν a word or two have been lost parallel to δυνάμενοι μέγιστον.

362C. διὸ κ.τ.λ. There is no sense here in 'for which reason.' What we want is διότι *because*, adopting πάντων . . . ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι from Wyttenbach. For διότι with infinitive in *oratio obliqua* cf. Herod. 3. 55.

364E. δῆ should follow τίνα.

366E. βούν γὰρ Ἰσιδος εἰκόνα καὶ γῆν. κατὰ γῆν *on earth*?

377C. μῆδ' ἔλη μῆδὲ λωτοὺς μὴ θεοποιῶν λέγοντες.

Wyttenbach's μῆδὲ πόαν is a much better substitute for μὴ θεοποιῶν than either μῆδὲ χέδροπα or μῆδ' ὅτιοῦν (Bernardakis). Nearer still to the text, especially when we remember that ρ and ι sometimes get confused, would be μῆδὲ ὀπώραν. Vines and fig-trees, not to mention others, were well known in Egypt. Cf. 379A τοὺς ἀπὸ δένδρων (καρπούς).

380B. Should δέιξαντα be διδάξαντα? Cf. Markland's correction 356B.

381F. We should expect τὸ κατ' ἰσότητα (or at any rate τὸ ἰσότητι) δίκαιον.

383A. εἰ δὲ <δεῖ> . . . εἰπεῖν.

H. RICHARDS.

"FAIRY GOLD"—AN ANCIENT BELIEF.

WE are familiar enough in modern fairy-tales and other traditions with the belief in fairy gold; gold, that is, or some other valuable thing, possessed by a supernatural being and given by him to a mortal, who finds after a time that it has changed to a worthless substance, generally ashes. I do not remember ever seeing this noted in any work on mythology as an ancient Greek belief, but the following considerations show, I think, that it was:

(1) Such a belief undoubtedly exists in modern Greece. Considering the many events which have occurred to interrupt the flow of tradition through the Middle Ages from classical times, I do not lay much stress on this; but still, as a considerable number of modern peasant beliefs have been, if not with certainty, at least with high probability traced to ancient ritual and custom, I give an example or two from a recent article in *Λαογραφία*, the organ of the Greek Anthropological Society. In Vol. IV. p. 22 we have the following—part of the directions for finding treasure given by an inhabitant of Sozopolis to an enquirer:

ὁ γαυρὸ πὰ παγαίνης νὰ βγάλῃς

γρόσια, πρέπει νὰ μὴ χωρατέψῃς κανεῖν-αννα. . . . Ἄμα χωρατέψῃς, χάνεται ὁ θησαυρὸς . . . σκάφτεις, καὶ κεῖ ποὺ σκάφτεις βρίσκεις κάρβουνα. Ἄμα βγάλῃς τὰ γρόσια, ὅσο ποὺ νὰ πάγῃς 'ς τὸ σπίτι, δὲ γάνει νὰ γυρίσῃ πίσον νὰ δῇς. Μόνε γυρίσῃς καὶ δῇς, θὰ κακοπάθῃς. καὶ κεῖ ποὺ βαστᾷς χρήματα, γλέπεις κάρβουνα. I.e., if I do not misunderstand his rather broad dialect, "All the while you are going to get treasure, you mustn't pass the time of day with anyone. If you do, the treasure goes . . . you dig, and on the spot where you dig you find ashes. If you get the money, while you're going home you mustn't turn round to look back; if once you do turn round to look, you'll have ill luck and where you're carrying the money you'll have ashes."

Again, this time from the province of Kyzikos (*ibid.* p. 28):

Ἄμα δύχ' κε' οὐνευρεντῇ κανεῖς φλουριά 'ς ἓνα μέρους, πρεπ' νὰ μὴ δοῦ πῇ κανενοῦ—ἄμα μλῆς, τότε τὰ φλουριά γένει κάρβουνα. 'If anyone happens to dream that there are coins in a place, he mustn't tell anyone about it; if he tells, then the coins turn into ashes.'

It appears from the rest of the article

that these unfortunate results may be avoided by proper precautions, and that if the money is so changed it may be restored by censing it for forty days. More examples will be found in Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, pp. 199, 281. In a note on the latter page Lawson quotes as an ancient parallel, the proverb *ἀνθρακες ὁ θησαυρός*, Lucian Philops. 32 (58), Zenobius II 1. Add Luc. Hermotimus 71 (813), Zeuxis 2 (840), Nauig. 26 (265); Zenobius, Diogenianus I 90, and the Bodleian paroemiographus (129) merely quote Lucian. But the most important of the passages in which Lucian uses the saying is Timon 40 (153), in which the misanthrope actually discovers a buried treasure and is 'afraid he will find nothing but ashes when he wakes up.' These passages, and the line of Phaedrus which Schottius on Zenob. l. c. quotes (V. vi. 6), 'carbonem ut aiunt pro thesauro inuenimus,' carry the belief back to Imperial times. But that Greek, Roman, and Asiatic beliefs were then jumbled together in the utmost confusion is a common-place. We cannot be absolutely sure that Lucian did not fetch that proverb with him from his Asiatic home, or that Phaedrus had it from a Greek source. It is therefore worth while to seek further back.

(2) Tibullus certainly has an allusion to such a belief, I. ix. 11:

muneribus meus est captus puer. at deus illa
in cinerem et liquidas munera uertat aquas.

For although this is not a statement of fact but an imprecation, such things are good evidence. Does anyone ever, in blessing or in cursing, wish something to happen which he believes to be absolutely impossible? It may be a thing beyond ordinary human power to effect; but at least it is something which can be done by magical or divine means, and generally something which in fact or in common belief is sometimes done. The originators of the phrase 'Devil

take you' had a lively faith in Satanic intervention; the neo-Hellenic 'Fire in your mouth' and 'Garlic in your path' refer respectively to the appropriate punishment, here or hereafter, for the evil speaker, and to a popular method of warding off bogies. The Homeric *ὔδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε* means, I take it, 'May you die and rot.'

(3) Greek influence is probable enough in Tibullus; it is even more so in the *Rudens* of Plautus, one of the most thoroughly Greek of all his dramas. In this play, 1256, Gripus says:

at ego deos quaeso ut quidquid in illo uidulost,
si aurum, si argentum est, omne id ut fiat cinis.

A passage which possibly Tibullus had in his mind. It is noticeable that the money is in this case a treasure-trove, a *ἐρμαῖον*, like Timon's find, and so particularly susceptible, one would suppose, to the attacks of magic.

(4) While I have so far been unable to find any direct reference to this belief in any author of the best period of Greek literature, I think it may be alluded to in Apollonios Rhodios, IV. 1405 *sqq.* In this those fairy-like beings the Hesperides do not, indeed, turn their gifts to ashes but themselves take the form of dust on the approach of intruders. The context indicates, what the actual words of the passage just referred to do not directly state, that all the magic garden became dust as well until the potent prayer of Orpheus brought all back to its true form, as in modern Greece the incense does the treasure. See 1423 *sqq.*, where the bare ground, it would seem, produces grass and then trees from which the nymphs appear; contrast 1401, in which at least the tree of the golden apples is visible.

In conclusion, I have to thank Dr. Rouse for drawing my attention to part of the material used in this note.

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AQUAI IN LUCRETIUS.

THE student of Lucretius who takes up any one of the four editions (Brieger, Bailey, Giussani, Merrill) which have appeared since Munro and turns to I. 453-4 will find this text:

pondus uti saxis, calor ignist, liquor aquai,
tactus corporibus cunctis, intactus inani.
(ignist . . . aquai Bockemüller: ignis
aquae MSS.)

Of these two lines the first will not scan and the second is not Latin. It is time, therefore, that something was said—or re-said.

The genitive of *aqua* was at one time *aquāi*. At no time was *aquāi* the dative of *aqua*. The dative of *aqua* was *aquāi*, the precise metrical equivalent of *aquae*. This admits of no doubt. The original Idg. datival suffix was -ai, a short diphthong. This suffix appears in Sanskrit *asvayai*,¹ in Lithuanian *rankai*,¹ in Gothic *gibai*,¹ in Greek *χώρα, τιμᾶ(-ῆ)*. It is the same suffix as meets us in the verbal *δομεναι, ἰδμεναι*, in the adverbial *χαμαί*, in the preposition *παρά*. In the Italic languages it appears as -ai in Latin (dialectal or Old Latin, -e, -a), as -ai in Oscan, as -e in Umbrian. The dative *aquai* is analysable into a stem *aquā-* and a case-suffix -āi. These two elements coalesce into *aquāi* (with monophthongal final syllable). *aquāi* is, therefore, as false metrically as would be in Greek *veavāi*, *χωπαί*, and little less false than *χαμāi*, *δομενāi*.

Lachmann long ago rejected *aquāi*, dative, not on philological grounds, nor for metrical reasons, but simply because he had observed that no Latin poet ever employed a dative in -ai (Lachmann was well aware that Ennius, *Ann.* 489 was a delusion of the ancient grammarians—it is still a delusion of Buecheler and Brieger and Giussani: see *Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre*³, I, p. 25). But why does no Latin poet employ a dative in -ai? When we reflect on the constant employment by Ennius, Plautus and Lucretius—to say nothing of Vergil—of the genitive in -ai, it is not a little remarkable that there should be

nowhere any example of a dative in -ai. Of this remarkable circumstance there is only one explanation. It is a somewhat obvious one, yet I have never seen it given. No Latin poet ever employs the dative in -ai, for the simple reason that no Latin poet could ever have had any motive for so doing. The form in -ai being the precise metrical equivalent of that in -ae, the use of -ai would have been a mere *orthographical* archaism.

The only thing that could be said in support of *aquāi* in this passage is the only thing that never has been said by any editor of Lucretius: that is, that Lucretius twice offers *rēi* as the dative of *res* (I. 688; II. 236). On the analogy of *aquai* we should expect *rēi*; and *rēi* is the form employed by Ennius, Plautus, Terence, Lucilius, and more than once attested by the *re* (= *rēi*) *publicae* of MSS. of Cicero: see *Neue-Wagener*³, I, pp. 575-6. But not only does Lucretius twice offer us *rēi*, but *rēi* (from *rēi*) is found as dative in Horace (*Odes*, III. 24, 64). The explanation seems to be that suggested by Brugmann, *K.V.G.* p. 384. *rēi*, as against *rēi*, represents an original *rēi-ī* (Old Indian *rav-e*), a form parallel rather with *nau-i* than with *aquai*. On the analogy of *rēi* (= *rei-i*) were formed in a later period *fidei* (Manilius III. 107, Seneca, *Thy.* 764—*ib.* 520 *fidei* is, I think, genitive), *spēi* (Seneca, *Ph.* 131), *diēi* (Manilius V. 699).

aquāi, then, is only a genitive form.² Between this form and the later *aquae* we should expect to find a transition-form *aquāi-ī*. I believe that we can in Lucretius find such a form. We should be prepared for it on phonetic grounds, and we should expect it on the analogy of genitives of the fifth declension.

² I am not here concerned with line 454. But of *intactus* I will say thus much. Lachmann's rule needs a slight modification. It will be absolute if stated in this form: Verbal nouns with *ῆ-* privative prefix are not found in Latin save in the ablative case or in an equivalent adverbial construction. Thus, we may say *iniussus senatus fiebat*, but not *iniussus senatus efficiebat*: *der incultus imminuebat*, but not *incultus imminuebat*.

¹ Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii. 2, 738.

The two declensions have a strictly parallel development; and this is much more clearly exhibited in their genitival forms than we commonly suppose. It is usual to speak as though the normal termination of the genitive case in the fifth declension was *-ēi*, and as though other forms—*-ēi*, *-ei*, *-i*, *-e* were somewhat exceptional. This assumption squares, I fancy, very ill with such evidence as we possess. The oldest form of the genitive termination in the fifth declension was *-es*, just as in the first it was *-as*. This was superseded in the fifth declension by *-ēi*, in the first by *-āi*—the *-i* suffix being borrowed perhaps from the genitive of the second declension. In the first we readily recognise *-āi* as an archaism. We are most familiar with it from Lucretius, in whom I have counted 132 examples (Ennius offers 7, Lucilius 3 (?), Plautus perhaps 25, Cicero 5, Vergil 4). Genitives in *-ēi* from the fifth declension are similarly to be regarded, I fancy, as examples of archaism, and as nothing more. It is only from the poets, of course, that we can determine the metrical value of the syllables: *-ei* in the prose-writers may quite well be monosyllabic. If we turn to the poets we shall find at once that just as Lucretius is our principal witness to the genitive in *-āi*, so he is to the parallel form in *-ēi*. He employs it no less than fourteen times (*diēi*, eleven times; *rēi*. II. 112, 548; *fidēi*, V. 102). But outside Lucretius where do we find it? We have one instance (*fidēi*) from Ennius, *Ann.* 389; we have *rēi* twice in Plautus (*Mil.* 103, *Most.* 88), *fidēi* once (*Aul.* 121), and *diēi* perhaps thrice, but I have not the references. Terence has *diēi* once (*H.T.* 168): so once Vergil *A.* IX. 156, once Horace *S.* 1. 9. 35 (both these last references are given falsely in L. and S., and the same false references appear in Mr. Roby's Grammar), once Phaedrus, ii. 8, 10. These lists are, perhaps, not exhaustive, but outside them we shall search some time, I fancy, in a reputable poet¹ for instances of the genitive in *-ēi*. (An exception must be made in the case of technical astronomical poets, who can hardly avoid *diēi*.)

¹ *diēi* is found in the *Vir Bonus* (15) and in the *Est et Non* (20).

Manilius has it four times, and, in his astronomical eclogues, Ausonius twice.)

-ēi, then, is an archaism. It early gave way before a monophthongal form, *-ei*, *-i*, or *-e*—which may be regarded as the normal form. This monophthongal form may be traced even in the prose-writers. We find, for example, in the MSS. of Cicero *republicae*, in Livy *spe, perniciē*—all genitives: see Neue-Wagener, *loc. cit.* The transition from *-ēi* to *-ei*, *-i* is furnished by eight examples of *rēi* (four from Plautus, four from Terence), and by six examples of *fidēi* (two from Manilius, four from Silius); cf. also Seneca, *Thy.* 520. The form in *-ēi* is, therefore, extremely rare. Of the corresponding *-āi* form in the first declension no example has hitherto been adduced. Yet three passages of the sixth book of Lucretius, taken in conjunction with one another, seem to me to afford some evidence of the existence of such a form. At 552 the MSS. offer

in magnas aquae uastasque lacunas,

where editors postulate (Munro, indeed, very doubtfully) *āq-ū-ae*: but for such a scansion they can find, outside Lucretius, neither authority nor analogy. The form *āq-ū-ae* is, in fact, so incredible that at 868

quae calidum faciunt aquae tactum atque saporem,

all our MSS. have, by a patent interpolation, substituted the synonym *latiscis*: and but for a single honest grammarian who quotes the line we should never have known the truth. In both these passages I think it possible that we should restore *āquā-i*. At 1072-3

uitigeni latices aquai fontibus audent
misceri

(in aquai *Marullus*: but, as Lachmann observes, we need, not *in*, but *cum*) the true remedy may, similarly, be

uitigeni latices āquāi < cum > fontibus audent.

These three isolated genitives in *-āi* need not surprise us when we remember (a) that it is to Lucretius that we owe three-fourths of the *-ai* genitives that have been preserved to us, and (b) that of the *-ēi* genitives we have but eight isolated examples from the Republican

period, and but seven from later writers. Take the Latin of the Republic. Take away Plautus and Terence, and you will find, outside Lucretius, only nineteen -āi genitives, and no -ēi genitives at all. It would not be wonderful, then, if outside Lucretius, we found no example of an -ā-i genitive. Yet it seems likely that there is, outside Lucretius, at any rate a solitary example of such a genitive. At Plautus, *Mil. Gl.* 552, the MS. variants seem to point to

aqua āquāi sumi quam haec est atque ista hospita,

and this is read by Lindsay.

On the subject of the *dative* of the fifth declension, I am indebted to Professor Lindsay's paper in the *Classical Review*, X., pp. 424-7. Most of the references which I have given are to be found—naturally—in *Neue-Wagener*. I have added, however, a certain number of my own, though I can hardly hope that my lists are complete. But they are, I think, sufficiently complete to indicate that our grammars need some revision.

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NOTES

ON THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ.

THE name Τριπτόλεμος, in spite of its meaning, the 'Thrice-plougher,' must be regarded, as P. Kretschmer regards it in *K. Z.* 31, p. 426, as a compound of the word πόλεμος, πτόλεμος, 'war.' But, so far as I am aware, the exact relationship between the two words has never been clearly established, because the origin of the word πόλεμος has been sought in the wrong direction. Prellwitz, in his *Wörterbuch*, and Persson, *Wzerweit*, p. 68, both connect it with πάλλω and the Latin *pello*; Vaniček, p. 513, and Wharton, *Etyma Graeca*, with the Zend root *par* 'fight'; and these suggestions do not help towards the meaning 'plough.'

But if we may put aside for a moment the meaning of the word, the origin of πόλεμος is obvious; it is a regular noun-formation from the I.E. root *q^hel*, 'go, move, frequent,' seen in the Sanskrit *car*, the Latin *colo*, and the Greek τέλλω, πέλω; just as from the I.E. root *el* comes οἶμος, 'going, path,' and from I.E. *g^hem* comes βωμός, 'stepping, step, altar-step.' Exactly parallel with πόλεμος, 'going, traversing,' is πέλεθρον, 'space traversed, field.'

From this original and neutral meaning of 'traversing' differentiation is easy;

the meaning of the word varied according to the nature of the ground traversed: if it was your own, it meant 'cultivation, ploughing'; if it was your neighbour's, it meant 'inroad, foray'; and so we arrive without difficulty, on the one hand, at Τριπτόλεμος, 'the Thrice-plougher,' and at Νεοπτόλεμος, 'the Young Raider,' on the other.

If this derivation of πόλεμος be accepted—and it is so transparently simple that I marvel that I have never yet seen it in print—it may throw some light on the puzzle of the πτ- doublet form. This peculiarity is shared by only one other Greek word, πόλις, as to whose origin authorities are not agreed. Some, including Fick, refer it to the root *q^hel* mentioned above, quoting the Latin *incola* to illustrate the shade of meaning; while others equate it with the Sanskrit *purī* and derive it ultimately from the root *plē*, 'fill.' Against the latter view it may be urged that if the initial consonant of πόλις comes from an I.E. *p*, no reason can be suggested why it should ever have become πτ-; for the old theory of the 'parasitic *j*' can scarcely be defended after Kretschmer's criticism of it in the article quoted above.

If, on the other hand, we may connect πόλις with πέλω and πολέω—and the suggestion presented no difficulty to

Aristophanes—the reason for the πτ may be sought in the change of the velar guttural.

When in early Greek the pronunciation of the velar guttural shifted, the resulting sound was either a labial or a dental, the choice between the two being determined by the nature of the following sounds. This determining influence, however, was not so strong but it could be overborne by analogy; so that we find, for example, πέλω as well as the theoretically correct τέλλω. Moreover, the initial combination πτ was common in Greek, arising sometimes from πι-, as in πτυχή, sometimes from the weakening of a root, as in πτέρων from the root pet, 'fly.' In cases, then, where either labial or dental might occur, I would suggest that in certain circumstances—the evidence is too scanty to decide what they were; possibly a vowel had to precede—both were pronounced together. The doublets thus produced may have existed only in one particular dialect-area, and the heavier forms were later supplanted entirely by the lighter, except that in the case of two common words the heavier form was preserved for metrical convenience in the Epics, and fortified by the literary usage, persisted locally in the spoken language as well.

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ΑΣΤΗΡ ΣΕΙΡΙΟΣ IN EUR. I. A. 6-7.¹

PHILOLOGIANS who lie snug in bed while Prof. Harry is squirrel-hunting may continue to indulge their sloth without any fear that he is stealing a march upon them either in the science of astronomy or in the art of interpretation. His description of dawn is a description of what never happened even in Kentucky, and shows that his attention was chiefly fixed, as it naturally would be, on the squirrels. When Aldebaran is on the meridian, μεσσήρης, it cannot be the last star to disappear in the light of day. So long as Alde-

baran is twinkling, Capella, a little to the north, will twinkle too, and so will the Dog-star; for although it is some way further east, and therefore more exposed to the extinguishing power of the daylight, its greater brilliancy preserves it longer from extinction. But Mr. Harry's astronomy interests me less than his exegesis. Agamemnon enquires τίς ποτ' ἄρ' ἀστήρ ὅδε πορθ-μεύει | σείριος ἐγγὺς τῆς ἑπταπόρου | Πλειάδος; and Mr. Harry contends that 'the Pleiades are no longer visible.' Is it then the habit of squirrel-hunters to define the position of a visible object by its proximity to an object which is not visible? And, if so, do they catch many squirrels?

The ἀστήρ σείριος was neither Aldebaran (as Matthiae, snug in bed, suggested) nor any other of the fixed stars. Had it been, Agamemnon would not have asked his question. To know the fixed stars was part of a general's business, because they told him the points of the compass, the hour of the night, and the season of the year; and the appearance of a familiar luminary in its usual place would not provoke the most distracted commander to enquire its name. The ἀστήρ σείριος of Euripides is, as Theon says, a planet: ὁ τραγικός ἐπὶ τινος τῶν πλανητῶν τί ποτ' ἄρ' ὁ ἀστήρ ὅδε πορθμεύει σείριος. Agamemnon lifts his eyes to the Pleiads and sees in their neighbourhood a star which he is not accustomed to see there; and hence his question.

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ON TWO PASSAGES IN DEMOSTHENES' FOR PHORMIO.

§ 50. καὶ τὸν Τιμόδημον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τραπεζίτας, οἱ ἐπειδὴ διαλύειν ἐδέχσαν οἷς ὀφείλον, ἐξέστησαν ἀπάντων τῶν ὄντων.

Thalheim, Beauchet, and Lipsius, in their respective works on Attic law, cite the above passage as it stands, and without comment. Hence it is with some hesitation that I suggest that the word ἀπάντων is corrupt: it can hardly

¹ See *Classical Review*, pp. 190-1

be defended by any supposed reference to *ἀγρόν* in the preceding sentence, as Aristolochus' bit of land was evidently all that Aristolochus had. The phrase *ἐκστήναι τῶν ὄντων* is technical, and we never find, nor should we expect to find, *ἀπάντων* with it. Cf. XXXIII. 25, XXXVII. 49, XLV. 64, *Antiphon* II. β. 9, Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 615. It seems probable that an original *ἀπαντες* has been corrupted by grammatical assimilation to *τῶν ὄντων*. This gives a good antithesis to the following *σὺ δ' οὐδὲν οἶει δεῖν σκοπεῖν*, and is supported by § 51 *οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τραπέζῃται μίσθωσιν οὐ φέροντες, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς ἐργαζόμενοι, πάντες ἀπώλοντο, οὗτος δὲ κ.τ.λ.* Cf. XLV. 46 *ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀπώλετ' ἐκείνος καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐξέστη*.

§ 47. . . . ἄγεις εἰς μέσον, δεικνύεις, ἐλέγχεις, μόνον οὐκ ὀνειδίζεις οἷον ὄντα σ' ἐποίησαντ' Ἀθηναῖοι.

In *Hermes* XIII. Zurborg proposed to read *Ἀθηναῖον* (the more felicitous of two suggestions). Editors ignore the proposal, on the ground, I suppose, that *ποιεῖσθαι* does not actually require an accusative. May I point out that *Ἀθηναῖον* is the actual reading not only of Ambrosianus D (teste May), but of the Parisian? Cf. *Demos*. LIX. 89, *Lysias* XIII. 70 *φήσει αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον τὸν δῆμον ποιήσασθαι*.

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CALPURNIUS AND VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Calpurnius, *Idyll* v. 60-61.

MSS. read:

verum ubi declini iam nona tepescere sole
incipiet, serique videbitur hora premendi. . . .

In the second line 'sēri' gives correct sense, 'time for pressing out the whey,' but is unmetrical. The by-form 'seru,' quoted by Charisius, suggests that we should write the dative, 'seruique videbitur hora premendo.' 'Serui,' it seems, was not understood, and altered to 'sēri' 'late,' a word suggested by the mention of the ninth hour and 'declinis

sol.' 'Premendo' was then altered to 'premeni' to agree with 'seri.'

Valerius Flaccus v. 565.

MSS. read:

qualis ab Oceano nitidum corus aethera vestit.

The line is a simile for the brightness of armour, and the words 'ab Oceano' suggest that the corrupt 'corus' conceals a reference to the dawn. A suitable sense would be given by 'crocus' 'saffron,' which is used of the colour in Verg. *Aen.* 9. 614, Lucret. 6. 1188.

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DRYDEN AND STATIUS.

DR. VERRALL, in his lecture on Dryden's *Quatrain Poems* (*Lectures on Dryden*, p. 98), refers to the poet's acknowledgment of the debt which some lines in the 98th stanza of the *Annus Mirabilis* owe to ll. 5 and 6 of Statius' famous *silua* on sleep:

nec trubicus fluuiis idem sonus, occidit horror
aequoris, et terris maria acclinata quiescunt.

It is perhaps worth while to point out that there is other evidence to shew that Dryden felt himself attracted by this particular piece. In the *Conquest of Mexico* (iii. 2) 'the mountains seem to nod their drowsy head' is, as Regnier pointed out in his preface to his translation of Rapin, a translation of l. 4:

et simulant fessos curuata cacumina somnos.

It is of course a mistranslation: *cacumina* means 'tree tops' here, as Professor Slater sees, though on p. 23, where he quotes Mr. Fyfe's verse rendering, he raises no objection to 'the rounded mountains feign to sleep.' In the *Rival Ladies* (i. 3) I have noted a couplet in which Dryden contaminates ll. 5 and 6 of the Statian poem with a half-line from the famous night description of Apollonius (3. 748):

Dogs cease to bark: the waves more faintly
And roll themselves asleep upon the shore.

On the same page Dr. Verrall thinks that 'his (Dryden's) recent reading of the Third Book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, where the successive ships are said to drive the sea's surface forward and back with their oars (iii. 550 ff.) has obviously suggested the hyperbolic language of stanza 177:

So vast the navy now at anchor rides
That underneath it the press'd waters fail,
And with its weight it shoulders off the tides.

The resemblance between the two passages seems to me of the slightest.

Line 2 undoubtedly, l. 3 also in all probability, came from Statius' description of the fleet of Agamemnon (*Ach.* i. 443 sqq.):

feruent portus et operta carinis
stagna suasque hiemes classis promota suosque
attollit fluctus: ipsum iam puppibus aequor
deficit.

The phrase 'shoulders off the tides' seems to me finer than anything in the original.

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Sheffield, September, 1914.

REVIEWS

A NEW DECIPHERMENT OF THE HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS.

A new Decipherment of the Hittite Hieroglyphs. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A., F.S.A. Reprinted from *Archaeologia*. Vol. lxiv.

THE Hittite hieroglyphs still seem to defy our efforts at decipherment. Apart from the early and ill-conceived attempt of Conder, who called them 'Altaic,' and considered that the language they expressed was Mongolian (for no particular reason, so far as one can see), the Hittite symbols have been 'deciphered' in accordance with three systems—that of Jensen, that of Sayce, and now that of Mr. Thompson. Dr. Jensen had his *parti pris*, like Conder: the Hittites had to be Aryans. German writers are always very Aryan in sentiment: they have racial prejudices which are unknown to the British scientific man, who cares nothing whether he himself or the people he is writing about are 'Aryans' or not. The Germans care about it very much. Mr. Thompson is rather Aryophil too: his trend is distinctly towards an Indo-European character for the language of the Hittite hieroglyphs. Professor Sayce would not, I think, claim the Hittites as Indo-Europeans. After all, it is much more probable that they belonged to the non-Aryan chain of peoples that probably extended from Italy (Etruscans), through Greece and Crete (Minoans),

and Western Asia Minor (Carians and Lycians), to the Caucasus, where Georgian and kindred tongues still maintain themselves. We know that there were Aryans in Western Asia at the time of the Hittite Empire; the Mitannians, the nearest eastern neighbours of the Hittites in North Mesopotamia, were, though probably not Aryans themselves, certainly ruled by an Aryan aristocracy, which bore the name *Arya* (*Harie*), and worshipped the gods Indra and Varuna and the Nasatya-twins. This was in the fifteenth century, B.C., and these Aryans were then as yet not differentiated into *H*-men and *S*-men, into Iranians and Hindus. We know, too, that chieftains of this Aryan stock had already filtered down southwards into Southern Palestine, where they seized lordships for themselves, and took a considerable part in the series of commotions and revolts against Egyptian authority that accompanied the attempt of the great Hittite king Shubbiluliuma to extend his empire southward at the expense of that of the mad pharaoh Akhenaten. And at the same time it would appear that the Israelites were entering Palestine from the south, adding their quatum to the general welter. So there were then Aryans even in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, and no doubt north of the Black Sea and in Greece north of the Isthmus. But we have no proof or

probability of any in Asia Minor till the Phrygians came in over the Hellespont from Thrace. King Dushratta of Mitanni was an Aryan, but his enemy Shubbuliuma probably was not. At any rate neither his name nor many other Hittite names have any Indo-European appearance. Does such a name as Khilpsil look Aryan, even if the termination *-is* (Khilpsilis was the nominative) does? When we do find an Aryan-looking name, such as Javajasa, this is more probably to be assigned to a Mitannian Aryan chief in Hittite service than to a real Hittite. The genuinely Hittite names show curious resemblances in form to the certainly non-Aryan Etruscan. I have no space for further details, but the probabilities are against an Aryan character for Hittite. And one does not see that Mr. Thompson has brought forward any evidence to shake this opinion, which is not affected by the claim of some scholars (upon which Mr. Thompson rests his belief) that the Arzawa Hittite, written in cuneiform, is Aryan, or as Mr. Thompson calls it 'Indogermanic.' Why not 'Indoceltic' or 'Indoslavic'? The Celts and Slavs probably speak purer 'Aryan' than any Teutons, whether German, English, or Scandinavian.

As to Mr. Thompson's method of decipherment it is impossible to give a definite opinion. It is ingenious and seems plausible, till one is suddenly brought up by what looks very like a *non-sequitur*. Then one wonders if this

is simply due to one's own stupidity, but is not convinced. Mr. Thompson's translations are all so remarkably 'pat.' They seem to make most of the inscriptions refer to alliances, and to little else. The date assigned to them by their decipherer is later than that usually regarded as probable. He would refer those of Carchemish to no earlier period than the ninth and eighth centuries, and believes that they deal mostly with the relations between the Hittites, Syrians, and Assyrians in the time of the Assyrian Shalmaneser II. and the Syrian Benhadad, of Irkhulina of Hamath, and of Panammu of Sam'al, all of whom he finds mentioned in the inscriptions. We shall cordially congratulate Mr. Thompson if he proves to be right, and we hope he will. But of course his work has to be very carefully checked and examined before any other worker can give a confident opinion as to its validity or non-validity. A criticism by Professor Sayce would be very much to the point, and we hope it will be forthcoming. After a moderately careful examination a student of near eastern matters who has not specially studied Hittite can only say that Mr. Thompson's system is ingenious and may prove to be partly correct, but strikes one as being illogical here and there, and as producing results that are rather too 'pat.' Congratulations on the work and commendation of the labour involved in it go without saying.

H. R. HALL.

TEUBNER TEXTS.

Sexti Empirici Opera recensuit H. MUTSCHMANN. Vol. I. and II. Pp. xxviii + 210. Teubner, 1912. M. 3.60 and M. 9.

Procli Diadochi in Platonis Cratylum Commentaria edidit G. PASQUALI. Pp. xiii + 149. Teubner, 1908.

Procli Diadochi Lycii Institutio Physica edidit A. RITZENFELD. Pp. xvi + 78. Teubner, 1912. M. 1.80.

Diadochus De Perfectione Spirituali edidit J. E. WEIS-LIEBERSDORF. Pp. vi + 165. Teubner, 1912. M. 3.20.

THESE volumes are among the latest issues of the familiar paper-clad Teubner texts, all alike edited in a workmanlike way, and each indispensable to the student whose work touches the same ground.

The first volume of the Sextus Empiricus contains the three books *Πυρρωνείων Τροπικώσεων*, for which up till now we have had to rely on the text of Bekker—a somewhat hasty production of the great scholar. In his *Praefatio* (28 pp.) Herr Mutschmann summarises the results of his investiga-

tions of the MS. authorities, which he had already published in detail in *Mus. Rhen.* LXIV. (1909): he shows that the MSS. fall into three classes, of which the earliest (Monacensis) belongs to the end of the fourteenth century, while the Latin Translation (T) is probably to be ascribed to the age of William Moerbeke (thirteenth century). A specimen page of this Latin Translation is printed at the end of the Greek text. Since Bekker, scholars like L. Kayser, A. Nauck, F. Kern, and others have contributed to the emendation of the text of the *Hypotyposesis*; and the editor acknowledges his debt also to Chr. Jensen, G. Pasquali, H. Diels and others, for criticism and advice.

The second volume contains the text of *adv. mathematicos* (vii.-xi.), the earlier books of that collection being left over to a third volume. In a *Praefatio* of nineteen pages the editor deals with the sources of the text and with earlier editions. Besides the MSS. used for the first volume the chief authority for the text of these books is a thirteenth-century Laurentian codex, which M. Mutschmann 'Arthurum Kochalsky secutus ad Nebei hujus codicis optimi investigatoris honorem siglo N' ornat. Among the scholars whose names appear most frequently in the critical footnotes to the text are Kochalsky, L. Kayser, and V. Heintz. As the preface of the first volume is dated May, 1911, and that of this second volume February, 1914, it will be seen that the editor is making fairly quick progress; and, when completed, the work will be indispensable to all students of Sextus.

Proclus on the Cratylus is only a collection of excerpts, probably the

work of a pupil. The frequent use of a plural verb after a neuter plural is a peculiarity of style which marks the writer as distinct from the composer of the Proclus Commentaries on the *Republic* and *Timaeus*; and this peculiarity, as M. Pasquali points out, he shares with the Aristotelian commentator Ammonius, a disciple of Proclus. A brief account of the MSS., mainly of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, on which the text is based, is given in the *Praefatio*. The well-known names of Crönert and Kroll appear frequently in the critical foot-notes to the text, and a number of their suggestions are adopted by the editor.

Editors and translators since the sixteenth century have conspired to neglect the *Institutio Physica*, which M. Ritzenfeld here presents to us in the complete form of text, translation, and commentary. The alternative title of the work is *De Motu*, and since it deals with Aristotle's views in his *Physics* VI. and VIII. and *De Caelo* I. it may be commended to the attention of Aristotelians. For the construction of his text the editor is specially indebted to the researches of Kalbfleisch, to whom the volume is dedicated.

The author of the treatise, in 100 chapters, *De Perfectione Spirituali* (περί γνώσεως πνευματικῆς) was a Bishop of Photike in Illyria in the fifth century. As an example of the ethical teaching of the Churchmen of the period it is a work of some interest. Since Migne (vol. lxxv.) gives only the Latin translation of Diadochus's work by Torres, the issue of this primary critical edition of the original Greek deserves notice.

R. G. B.

MANILI ASTRONOMICON. LIBER II.

Manili Astronomicon. Liber II. Editit H. W. GARROD. 1 vol. Pp. 166+c. Oxford University Press, 1911. 10s. 6d. net.

It is a matter for congratulation that Professor Robinson Ellis' interest in the astrological works of the early Empire has descended to at least two

scholars of this generation—Professor Housman and Mr. Garrod. There is much in classical literature for the understanding of which a competent acquaintance with ancient astrology is indispensable, and until we are agreed to slur over such passages and to read selections only from the ancient classics, it will remain necessary to cope, so far

as we can, with astronomical facts and astrological beliefs. Mr. Garrod has made a welcome and valuable contribution towards the revival of such knowledge amongst us. Besides giving us a text constructed on scientific lines, he has provided a translation, neither low and creeping nor crude and loose, whereby the reader can follow his author easily and with a conviction of certainty. Further, a copious commentary of some ninety pages discusses such points as a curious student might wish to have elucidated. The mass of matter dealt with in the volume precludes any possibility of touching upon any substantial portion of it, and it will be perhaps of most service here thoroughly to sift the interpretation put by the editor upon a well-known passage, from the six pages of comment on which a page has been selected for circulation as a specimen page of the work. Says Manilius (l. 507-9):

Contra Capricornus in ipsum
Convertit visus—quid enim mirabitur ille
Maius, in Augusti felix cum fulserit ortum?

Yet not only Suetonius (*Aug.* 5) but Augustus himself (*ap.* Gellius xv. 7. 9) attests that the Emperor was born on a.d. IX. Kal. Octobr. This Breiter made 23 September—whereon Mr. Garrod waxes somewhat supercilious. But he has not observed that Breiter's figure is not the offspring of 'errors incidental to human frailty,' because 'nothing in the world is much harder than simple arithmetic.' The truth is that Breiter, like Professor Ginzel (*Hand. d. math. u. tech. Chronologie*, vol. 2, p. 271, where other references to modern authorities are to be found), believes that the dating is Julian, *i.e.* that till 45 B.C. Augustus' birthday was written a.d. VIII. and afterwards as a.d. IX. (Perhaps Ovid's date for the battle of Mutina is to be reconciled on similar lines with that found in the well-known letter to Cicero.) This apology for Breiter, however, is incidental to our enquiry. The vital issue is, how and why is it that Capricorn was the sign 'that shone happily on the rising of Augustus'? Our editor, with Professor Housman, is absolute that the sign horoscoping is the sign under

which a man is born, according to the ancient astrologers. Other modern writers suppose that sign to be the one in which the sun stands at the man's birth. Both views, of course, make Manilius inexplicable.

Mr. Garrod seeks an escape by wild manipulation of the Calendar, of which more will be said in a moment. The true solution has escaped him, and his invocation of Dr. J. K. Fotheringham's help at this point suggests a doubt as to his own acquaintance with what is a necessary equipment for grappling with such problems. Till 1904 there was some excuse for the editor of a Latin classic who hesitated to attempt the casting of an ancient horoscope; but in that year Dr. P. V. Neugebauer published *Tables for the Sun and Great Planets*, and in 1905 for the Moon (Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler: Veröff. d. Kön. Astron. Rechen-Inst. zu Berlin). Before throwing over the straightforward interpretation of the passage, we must have before us the positions of these luminaries at the moment of birth stated for us by our authorities. But it will be well first to quote some lines from Manetho:

σάφα νῦν καταλέξω
ὁππόθεν ἐν γενέθλησι χρεῶν ζωῆς χρόνον
ἀρχῇν
ἀνθρώποις φράζεσθ' ἡδ' ἔμπαλιν, ὁππόθι
λήγει.
οὐ μὲν δὴ πάντεσσιν ὁμῶς μερόπεσιν
ἔοικεν
οἷς ἐκ χώρης ἐτέων λάξσθαι ἀριθμόν·
ἄλλη γάρ θ' ἐτέρῃ γενέθλη ἄφεσις συνά-
ρηρεν.
ὅσοις μὲν Τιτὰν ἡοὶ ἐνι γεινομένοισιν
κέντρῳ ἐπεμβεβαῶς ἰνδάλλεται, ἐξ ἄρα
κείνου
μοίρης ἄρχεσθαι βιότου χρόνον ἐξαριθ-
μοῦντας·
νυκτερινῇ γενέθλη δὲ Σεληναίης ἀπὸ
μοίρης.
ὁππότε δ' ἂν κέντρων ἐκτὸς δύο φῶτ'
ἀποκλινθῇ,
ἡδ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ μοίρησι κατωφερέεσσι πόλοιο
νίσσεται προβέοντα, τότε ἄστέρος ἄρχεο
κείνου
ὅς ῥά τε δεσπόζει γενέθλης μέγα τε κράτος
ἴσχει.
εἰ δ' ἄρα κάκεινον λεύσσοις κλινθέντ'
ἀπὸ κέντρου,
ἐξ ὧρης τότε ἔπειτα χρόνων ἄφεσιν σύ γε
φράζου.

The determination of the ruling star and sign then is not so simple as editors have supposed. The facts of Augustus' birth may now be stated. We are told by Suetonius that he was born *paullo ante solis exortum*, and about 22 September (Julian) the sun rises at Rome about a quarter to six. We may suppose the birth then to be at 5.30 a.m. or a little earlier. Since the Julian calendar was not then in force, we have, as the Julian equivalent of 22 Sept. (if our authorities' dating is not Julian), either 20 September according to Unger,¹ or 21 September according to Holzapfel and P. Groebe. It will be seen that this horoscope, while allowing either date, somewhat favours the latter. The star-positions are as follows for 5.30 a.m. at Rome in 63 B.C.:

Sept.	☉.	☽.	♄.	♃.
20.	174° 3'	262° 39'	30° 26'	103° 21'
21.	175° 3'	274° 31'	30° 23'	103° 31'
22.	176° 2'	286° 24'	30° 20'	103° 41'
	Libra.	♊ and ♋.	Taurus.	Cancer.
Sept.	♂.	♀.	♂.	♀.
20.		316° 18'	125° 59'	
21.	33° 6'	317° 53'	130° 27'	
22.		319° 28'	134° 54'	
	Taurus.	Aquarius.	Leo.	

where allowance is made for the ancient reckoning of the Signs from 7° earlier than they are reckoned to-day. If we allow for the latitude of Rome, we have approximately for the first degree of the various Houses in the Figure of the Heavens on the 21st:

*I. ♄ 22° with ☉ in it.	*VII. ♄ 22°.
II. ☽ 25°.	VIII. ☽ 25° with ♄ and ♂.
III. ♄ 4°.	IX. ♄ 4° with ♃.
*IV. ☽ 11° with ☽.	*X. ☽ 11°.
V. ♄ 10° with ♀.	XI. ♄ 10° with ♀.
VI. ♄ 4°.	XII. ♄ 4°.

* These houses are angles.

On the assumption that the Houses should be truly equidistant, this would be slightly altered, all the Houses beginning perhaps with 21° of their respective Signs.

When we ask what is the ruling star, since (as Shelburne saw) the birth is at night—the Sun being not risen—we

have first in rank to consider whether the Moon is in an angle. She is, and therefore she dominates the horoscope, and the ruling Sign is accordingly Capricorn. Geminus notes 'nocturnis originibus favent luna Mars Venus, plus die possunt sol Saturnus Iuppiter, Mercurius varie et quomodo consensit aut visus est' (*Fragm.* iii. § 10). Theagenes would of course notice ♄ ♄ ♄ and ♂, and ☉ ♄ ♄ and ♃. (See too Manetho ii. 184 ff., 361 ff., 407 ff., iii. 106 ff. and iv. 35 ff.)

Without further comment on this horoscope, and the way the ancients would interpret it, we may record the star-positions for Horace's birth, the date of which we know to have been 8 Dec. 65 B.C., equivalent to a Julian date of 2 December. The Sun was at noon that day in 247° 12' (Sagittarius), the Moon in 54° 17' (the Roman Gemini), Saturn 357° 0' (the Roman Aries), Jupiter 32° 6' (Taurus), Mars 10° 6' (Aries), Venus 343° 52' (Pisces) and Mercury 276° 9' (Capricorn). Since the Sun rose that day at Rome about 7.15, we may assign the birth to about 3 a.m. when, whichever² way the Houses be reckoned, we can have in the Ascendant Libra and part of Scorpio, and in the 4th House (an angle) and Lord of the Horoscope Mercury. Since Mars also is in an angle, and the birth is at night, Horace may have thought at first that Mars not Mercury was predominant. Thus are explained Horace's implication that he was a *vir Mercurialis* and his *seu Libra seu me Scorpis aspicit . . . seu Capricornus*.

It would be travelling too far outside the proper scope of this notice to show how it is possible to go further and to determine the year of Maecenas' birth: this must be reserved for a short separate paper in the future. Here we must be content to add, as a last proof that Mr. Garrod is mistaken in rejecting the usual transvaluation of the Roman calendar-dates, the fact that he has to juggle with express statements of Dio Cassius. 'It is certain,' he says, 'that

¹ In an appendix to my edition of *Cicero: Select Letters* (Blackwood) I have given the same equivalent for this date.

NO. CCXLVI. VOL. XXVIII.

² If latitude be allowed for, we may have, e.g., the Houses beginning I. with 165°, II. with 213°, III. with 248°, IV. with 273°, V. with 294°, and VI. with 316°.

(1) that year' (i.e. 41 B.C.) 'was what we call a "Leap Year"; (2) it ended with a market day.' As to the first statement I will merely refer to Unger in Müller, *Hand. d. class. Wiss.*, p. 818; as to the second, the year could only end with a market day if Dio Cassius, xlviii. 33 § 4, is correct, and then it follows that Mr. Garrod cannot give 365 days for 42 B.C. but 365+1 days. With this goes the inference that the year 46 contained 422+23 days, and then the total days from 52 to 41 are 4424+1, which is quite in harmony with our authorities. Not a shadow of doubt can remain that the whole of the editor's discussion of Augustus' horoscope and of the Roman calendar is misguided.

But it would be misleading to leave this as the last word. The book, as we

have already seen, is a thoroughly valuable piece of work, throwing such light as modern scholarship can dispense on a thorny and intricate subject, and as such it deserves a hearty welcome from all classical students.

T. NICKLIN.

As a pendant to this review, it may be permitted to mention two recent additions to the Teubner series, each deserving welcome and consideration, viz.:

Claudii Ptolemaei opera quae exstant omnia: vol. 2, opera astronomica minora, ed. J. L. HEIBERG (M. 9); and *Des Claudius Ptolemäus Handbuch der Astronomie*. Erster Band a. d. Griechischen übersetzt u. mit erklärenden Anmerkungen versehen, von KARL MANITIUS (M. 8 or M. 8.60).

THE CITY STATE IN ANCIENT ITALY.

The City State in Ancient Italy (Der Staat der alten Italiker). By DR. ARTHUR ROSENBERG. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1913. M. 4.

DR. ROSENBERG has made a lucid and interesting investigation of the forms of government which prevailed in pre-Roman times in the different Italian communities, and the essay deserves a hearty welcome. Though its title and size, like its style, are modest, it represents a substantial addition to our knowledge of ancient Italy and of the elements from which the Roman Republican Constitution was drawn; and it includes a very welcome sketch of the political institutions of Etruria. The author is familiar with the inscriptional record from all the districts, and his discussion of the Etruscan evidence is a welcome sign of the solid progress which has been made in recent years in the interpretation of that difficult language by the patient and able research of Herbig and Torp, and above all by the brilliant work of the late Professor Skutsch. As a pupil of Skutsch, Dr. Rosenberg has learnt to combine evidence of many different kinds and to treat that of tradition with respect instead of contempt—a lesson

which indeed the present generation of scholars has been taught again and again by the continual confirmation of ancient testimony by modern excavation. A striking example will be found in the chapter on the origin of the Roman lictors, where the evidence of Livy and other writers as to the Etruscan origin of the Roman fasces is strikingly confirmed by the find of a bundle of twelve hollow iron rods tied on to a double-headed axe in the tomb of some distinguished person¹ at the Etruscan town Vetulonia). The archaeologists assign the tomb to the sixth century B.C., and in any case it is entirely free from all trace of Roman influence. The confirmation of a particular passage in Silius Italicus, who ascribes to this particular town the origin of the fasces (*Pun.* viii. 483 ff.), is perhaps accidental but curiously exact.

The book begins by a discussion of the Aedileship, which must originally have been a religious office, as the name indicates, and which the author by a

¹ Surely not himself a 'lictor,' *pace* the Italian excavators, as Dr. Rosenberg has realized (p. 86 note).

careful and accurate study of the inscriptional evidence shows to have been borrowed from Tusculum, where we find the sacral character of the office surviving beside the political. Successive chapters collect what can be known of the offices of *meddix* and *censor* among the Samnites and Campanians, of the Sabine *octoviri* and of the Umbrian *marones*; and this leads naturally to the discussion of the Etruscan magistracies, where the same title *maro* re-appears, though no longer as that of the highest magistrate. By an admirable collection of the evidence from epitaphs from the chief Etruscan towns, the author traces the constitution of the Etruscan League which was re-organised by Augustus,¹ of course for religious purposes, and survived down to the time of Constantine and after (*C. I. L.* xi. 5265). At its head stood a magistrate, called in Etruscan *zilaθ rasuas*, and in Latin known as *praetor* (and sometimes *sacerdos*) *Etruriae*. The high dignity of this office appears from the fact that it was once held by the Emperor Hadrian. Beneath him was an officer known in Latin as *aedilis Etruriae* and in Etruscan as *marunuk*. Each of the twelve, or after Augustus fifteen, communities of which the League consisted had its own chief magistrate, whose title was *zilχ* or *zilax tenθas*, and the author is clearly right in taking these magistrates to be denoted by the *principes populorum* of Livy ix. 36. Beside each *zilχ* stood two lower officers called *marnu* and *purθne* (though the precise form of the words seems to vary in different places and dates). These two offices roughly correspond to those of *aedile* and *quaestor*. The offices were all annual and stood in a fixed order of precedence, and all but the headship of the League could be repeated several times. Space forbids me to dwell further on the details of this chapter which deserves most careful study.

Those which follow contain important deductions as to the growth of the Roman Constitution, especially the fact that the Dictatorship in Rome and other Latin towns was derived from the

Etruscan practice. Strangely enough, the author does not seem to be aware that two of the towns which he discussed at length, namely Praeneste and Tusculum, were especially under Etruscan influence (*Ital. Dial.* p. 310). Had he done so he would have treated with more respect the tradition appearing in two places in Livy (iii. 18; vi. 26) of a Dictator at Tusculum and also of the single Praetor of Praeneste (ix. 16),² and if he had studied a little more carefully Livy's statement (viii. 3) about the Latin *praetores* he would have seen that the adverb *tum* definitely implied that the Latin League had not always had two; so that the alleged discrepancy between Livy and the earlier writers simply does not exist. Is it not also a somewhat needless riddle to speak, as the author does twice, of the 'unknown statesmen who shaped the Roman Constitution'? Surely the tenour of the first half of the second book of Livy makes it clear that by the universal Roman belief it was the great Valerius Publicola; to call him 'unknown' is a trace of the Mommsenian dogmatic nescience, which the author shows elsewhere that he has happily outgrown. And why, one may ask, is the account given by Livy and Dionysius of the origin of the number 12 of the lictors 'of course (*natürlich*) worthless'? 'Of course' is a dangerous phrase and nearly always betokens some assumption which the writer is unable to justify.

There is little else to criticise in the book. One wonders why its Greek citations are printed throughout without any accents or smooth breathings, and with only a proportion of the rough breathings. Is it a piece of private negligence or a new fashion of the printers in Berlin? The interpretation given (p. 21) of the Oscan *proffed* is old-fashioned and certainly wrong, though it is happily irrelevant to the argument, and that of Oscan *verehias* (p. 99), though attractive from the point of view of the writer's argument, and impossible at present to disprove, has no basis yet in etymology.

¹ Bormann, *Arch.-Epig. Mitteil. aus Öst.*, xi. 103.

² This anecdote, it should be noted, is not attached by Livy to any particular year, but only given along with several others, in his picture of the personality of Papirius.

On the other hand, recognition is due to the wisdom of the note on the use of etymological evidence in general (p. 125) and to the careful and convincing analysis of *Aen. x. 201-3*, Vergil's description of the ethnology of Mantua, with the brilliant explanation at last given of Servius' difficult note on that passage. Another not less interesting and not less certain interpretation is that given (p. 133) to the well-known and difficult Dictator-inscription of Caere (*C. I. L. xi. 3593*). Here a point of confirmatory evidence has been overlooked. The inscription runs, or originally ran: *deos Curiales genium Ti. Claudi Caisaris Augusti p.p. curiae Aserniae A. Auillius Acanthus dictator sua impensa*

posuit. Here Mommsen wanted to take *curiae* as meaning a particular building, to which there are fatal objections. Dr. Rosenberg's view that it is Genitive after *deos Curiales* to which the 'genius of Tiberius' is added will remind the English reader at once of Horace's phrase (*Odes iv. 5. 34*) *et Laribus tuum miscet nomen*, which seems to clinch the argument.

Enough has been said to show that Dr. Rosenberg's book deserves a cordial and respectful welcome both for its own sake and as a promise of not less admirable work in the future.

R. S. CONWAY.

Manchester, September, 1914.

ROMAN IMPERIALISM.

Roman Imperialism. By PROFESSOR TENNEY FRANK. I vol. 8vo. Pp. xiii + 365. New York: The Macmillan Co. 10s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR TENNEY FRANK has undertaken to give a complete account of Rome's international relations. This involves something like a complete history of Rome, and it is not surprising that his book is of some length, though a certain conciseness and economy, both in narrative and in discussion, is one of its excellences. No great space is given to the theory of international law, that subject having recently been treated in Coleman Philipson's *International Law and Custom in Greece and Rome*. Professor Frank's object is rather to do for three or four hundred years what Colin did for fifty in *Rome et la Grèce de 200 à 146 a. J. C.*, to trace the historical progress of Roman acts and feelings towards the outside world. The author has imagination, and his learning is more than accurate and complete—it is judicious and sensible. The chapters on the Latin League and on Julius Caesar are especially able in their reinterpretation of well-known data by a fresh mind.

The most detailed part of the book is on the second century B.C., the time of Rome's greatest expansion. Professor

Frank maintains steadily, and, we must admit, at all times sanely, that Rome never desired territorial expansion overseas; thus he stands for the plea of the Romans themselves, who insisted that what they did had always been forced on them. His discussion on the questionable League with the Mamertines, on the one hand, and of the quixotic withdrawal of garrisons from the 'three fetters' of Greece, on the other, are good examples of his method; but in the first instance, he passes far too lightly over the Polybian uneasiness at an alliance with a community of mutineers, even if of five-and-twenty years' standing. He also fails to make the distinction between the wisdom and the right of interference; it is arguable that it was judicious of Rome to interfere in Messina, her legal justification is another matter; for, in spite of what Professor Frank says about the nearness of Messina to Italy, he himself rightly lays down the principle that at this time Roman boundaries were absolutely definite, and the doctrine of 'spheres of influence' unknown to them (p. 124). Continuing, Professor Frank finds in the Scipionic circle anti-imperial feeling, and in the chapter on *Commercialism and Expansion* he enlarges the not inconsiderable amount of evidence which he produced in his paper in

the *American Historical Review*, vol. xviii., to combat the received view that Roman politics felt the pressure of the *negotiatores* as early as the second century B.C. A great deal of quiet, original work is embodied in these chapters. The chapter on Augustus and the Empire is far too slight, but is obviously only intended as a sketch.

To sum up, this book is extremely profitable, but it omits to give weight to one factor—the sheer profit to be made out of certain kinds of war in ancient times by certain sections of people. The settled farmer on a *small* farm would not be anxious to tax himself to pay a war-loan, or to walk from voting-booth to recruiting-station: so Professor Frank himself (p. viii.). But what of two other classes—the dispossessed, who had only his labour to sell, which he could dispose of more profitably to the general than to the employer of labour, and those who had so much land that they never put hand to plough themselves, but acted as overlords—the nobles? That the Roman nobles found overseas expeditions profitable and interesting seems to me beyond the pale of doubt; their well-managed estates, not in the least depending on their personal labour, could for a time be run by proxy. In spite of Professor Frank's able sketch of the nervous panic caused everywhere by the doings of Philip V., the opening of the second Macedonian War must still be put down to the greed of some of the Romans. Then, as in the next two wars, the two classes mentioned above combined, for (as Professor Frank omits to mention)

the Roman officers engineering the war were only allowed to take out volunteers (Liv. xxxi. 8). Moreover, the passage quoted by Professor Frank himself from Polyb. i. 11, which describes how the military commanders suggested to the people that they would *individually get important material benefits from the war*, would show that even as early as 264 B.C. such selfish considerations of profit had their weight. Finally, in 200 B.C., so averse were the bulk of the people to this unnecessary conflict, that the formal consent which was at last wrung out of them was only obtained with the help of some religious, i.e. aristocratic, machinery. Warde Fowler (*Religious Experience*, p. 836-7) has drawn attention to this, and if any historical value is attached to the words he quotes from the answer of the *haruspices* (Liv. xxxi. 5) *prolationem finium*, a section, at least, of the Roman people must already have looked forward to an extension of territory in Macedonia on the traditional Roman principle.

The notes of this book open up in small compass the most useful discussions and supply well-chosen references to important modern work. The selection of ancient passages quoted in the text is both wide and judicious; I have only noticed the omission of the wonderful eulogy of Rome in 1 Macabees, ch. 8. The Ciceronian point of view, especially as shown in some passages in *de Officiis*, might have repaid some handling.

L. E. MATTHAEI.

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SCHOOL BOOKS.

(1) *Prima Legenda*, by J. Whyte (Cambridge University Press, 1s. 4d.).

(2) *Simplified Texts: Tales of Great Generals* (from Nepos); *Selections from Cicero; Anecdotes from Pliny's Letters*, ed. by W. D. Lowe (Clarendon Press, 1s. 6d. each); *Sallust's Catiline; The Agricola of Tacitus* (both much abridged), ed. by S. E. Winbolt (Bell, 1s. 6d. each).

(3) *Briefe des jüngeren Plinius* (63 selected letters), ed. by M. Schuster. Vol. I.: Text, etc., M. 1.50; Vol. II.: Kommentar, M. 1.20 (Tempusky, Vienna).

(4) *Livy: The Revolt and Fall of Capua*, ed. by T. C. Weatherhead (Cambridge University Press, 2s.).

(5) *Selections from Ovid*, Pt. II., ed. by A. C. B. Brown (Clarendon Press, 1s. 6d.).

(6) Euripides: *Iphigenia in Tauris* (abridged), ed. by T. S. Morton (Bell, 1s. 6d.).

(1) In *Prima Legenda* (64 pp.) we have stories (as a foundation for oral lessons), English sentences to be translated, a little grammar. It does not carry the beginner far, but it is well planned and carefully worked out.

(2) We are rather alarmed to see how large a number of simplified texts is being produced. It looks as though many teachers were using them with pupils who ought to be reading real Latin. There is, it is true, a need for easy and interesting reading for an early stage, but the books named above seem to us too difficult to supply what is wanted. We have even a simplified Tacitus, and Mr. Winbolt advertises a 'first list of volumes,' as though he were going to make mincemeat of all the Classics. Yet a class which can deal with the large vocabulary and other difficulties of these books is quite capable of taking stronger and more nutritious food. It might have to begin a little more slowly and need a little more help, but it would be more likely to feel that the stuff was worth assimilating.

There is a great difference between Mr. Lowe's books and Mr. Winbolt's. Mr. Lowe's are overloaded with notes. The person for whom he writes seems to have no teacher and very little intelligence, but an extraordinary passion for long words. He has to have the easiest case constructions (such as puzzle no ordinary boy) explained again and again, and yet he can understand such hard sayings as '[Pliny] is a Ciceroniaster rather than a Ciceronian,' and 'the prolativ or complementary infinitive completes the sense of so-called indeterminative verbs.' Mr. Winbolt understands his business much better and leaves more to the intelligence both of pupil and teacher. We wish we could induce him to give fewer and better pictures and to tell his readers a little about them. Boys can learn much from pictures, but they have to be taught what to look for in them. It is

a mistake to use Trajan's Column to illustrate Sallust without a word of explanation. The fancy pictures seem to us often misleading; we would give only well-ascertained fact and leave it to the imagination to combine them. We should be glad to know what parts of the strange picture 'Cicero addressing the Senate' are based on evidence.

(3) The Austrian edition of Pliny is an excellent piece of work. Anyone who is interested in making Roman life intelligible to schoolboys will do well to study the illustrations and the Appendix on antiquities which are included in the Text volume. Still more valuable for this purpose is *Römische Kultur im Bilde*, edited by H. Lamer (Quelle und Meyer, Leipzig, M. 1.25). It contains 96 pages of illustrations, including many which are not in the usual reference books, and 64 pages of text.

(4) Mr. Weatherhead does not believe in simplifying Livy; 'if many of his difficulties vanish in a "cooked" edition, so also do the excellencies of his style.' His book consists of selections from Livy 23-26, and is intended for those who are beginning Livy. He has evidently enjoyed his work; both the Introduction and the Notes are lively and interesting, and give the sort of help that is needed at this stage. The print is excellent.

(5) Mr. Brown's Ovid is admirably printed. The notes are largely of the type: 'Ablative of the Instrument,' 'Abl. of Place Where.' Our feeling is that boys could find out most of these for themselves. The expression (which occurs several times) 'Final use of *ut* with Subjunctive to express a Purpose' seems unsatisfactory. Does not 'final' mean 'expressing a purpose'? If we want boys to think clearly about grammar, we must take pains to get our own notions clear.

(6) 'By the omission of the choruses and of all the harder passages,' Mr. Morton has reduced *Iph. Taur.* to 628 lines. He writes good simple notes which show that he understands the needs of beginners.

Σ.

SHORT NOTICES

Exempla Codicum Graecorum, litteris minusculis scriptorum annorumque notis instructorum. Volumen prius: Codices Mosquenses, ediderunt Gregorius Cereteli et Sergius Sobolevski. Mosquae, Sumptibus Instituti Archaeologici Mosquensis MDCCCXLI. (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.) Pp. xv + 43 plates in portfolio 17" x 21". Price M. 40. Volumen alterum: Codices Petropolitani. Mosquae, Sumptibus Ministerii Eruditionis Populi MDCCCXIII. Pp. xix + 62 plates (some double sheets). Price M. 50.

IN issuing this sumptuous series of photographic reproductions of specimen pages from manuscripts preserved in Russian libraries, the editors, so it appears from the preface to the first volume, have been actuated by a double motive. In the first place they wished to help the student by providing accurately dated specimens to illustrate the development of Greek minuscule handwriting, and secondly to draw the attention of scholars to the neglected manuscript treasures of St. Petersburg and Moscow. In the case of a poor student the price is likely to prevent the fulfilment of the first purpose, especially when excellent collections like Cavalieri and Lietzmann's *Specimina Codicum Graecorum* can be purchased for a few shillings. However, the cheaper books cannot challenge comparison with a series like the present, which provides a complete history of minuscule writing from the ninth to the fourteenth century, in a number of full-sized photographs of excellent workmanship, each on its separate sheet. In every instance the date is known accurately.

Two classes of scholars will take an interest in the Greek manuscripts of Russia, palaeographers and editors of texts. The former will study with eagerness the various types of handwriting, for the most part beautifully clear, and not infrequently embellished with miniatures. The latter will be more interested to know what authors are represented in the libraries of the two great Russian cities.

The manuscripts in the Moscow volume are as follows: St. Basil and St. Chrysostom five each, St. John Climacus four, Gregory Nazianzen and Evangelia three each, Palladius and the Gospels two each, while the remainder is made up by Lives of the Saints and miscellaneous Service and other church books. The composition of the St. Petersburg volume is very similar, but it contains more biblical manuscripts. It appears, then, that these documents fall into three classes: (i.) Biblical, (ii.) texts of the Greek Fathers from Basil downwards, and (iii.) Greek church books. With a few exceptions the minuscules contribute little to the textual criticism of the New Testament. However, the contents of many of them are still unknown and interesting discoveries may await the explorer. Few of the Fathers of the fourth and following centuries have been critically edited as yet; those who undertake the task will clearly have to visit Russia in the course of their labours, or else arrange for accurate collations by Russian scholars. Eastern church books are almost beyond the horizon of Western scholars, and the task of editing them will naturally fall to the lot of Russian savants.

In the preface to the second volume the editors announce their intention of issuing a third volume, to be devoted to minuscules, drawn from both cities, of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. We congratulate the editors on the successful accomplishment of the first part of their task, and the Russian Government on the manner in which it has shown itself a benefactor of learning.

W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE.

Cavendish, Suffolk.

Some Leisure Hours of a Long Life. By H. MONTAGUE BUTLER, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes.

ALL lovers of good scholarship will welcome the appearance of the Master of Trinity's Latin and Greek verses in a

collected form: many are already familiar with them individually. They cover a period of some sixty years: there cannot be many scholars who have prolonged so far (still fewer, who have maintained at such a high level of excellence) the delightful and especially English art of Latin and Greek verse-making. But 'age does not wither' the Master, nor 'custom stale the infinite variety' of his metrical achievement.

These versions, like everything from the same hand, are models of form and taste. They are quite simple, for the most part, in diction: there are no efforts after the unusual or difficult or far-fetched. Nor, except once, does this volume contain any noticeable tours de force, in the way of attempting to translate what is really untranslatable. The one exception, and it is a large one, is of course that collection with which many of us have long been familiar—the series of versions of *Crossing the Bar*. It is really marvellous, the ingenuity with which the same thing has been said in so many different metres (one recalls Cicero's compliment to the versatility of Archias), and, still more, the delicate sense which somehow achieves the manner of expression with which each metre is associated. But, after all, Dr. Butler himself would be the first to acknowledge the impossibility of really reproducing the Tennysonian effect, depending as it does on the intimate union of sense with English sound. We boast ourselves to be better than our forefathers in the true understanding of the Greek and the Roman spirit: yet how alien our modern literary expression is from that of the Greeks and Romans, one sees by the undoubted fact that the poetry of the last half-century is really not translatable into Latin, nor even into Greek. Compare with the *Crossing the Bar* series the other and shorter series of versions of Herrick's 'What needs Complaints?' No thought in that rather unfeeling poem is foreign to Latin: and as one reads the Master's Horatian renderings, one seems to read Horace himself.

Dr. Butler is a perfect master of the Ovidian elegiac. But does he not perhaps ask it to accomplish too much? Does the neatness and concinnity—do

the associations of that elegiac allow it to reproduce the great music of the Hebrew Psalms? Here, as everywhere, the versions are admirably faithful. But the warmest admirers of Ovid will hardly claim for him that he is 'in the grand style.'

A. D. G.

St. John Damascene, Barlaam and Joasaph, with an English translation by G. R. WOODWARD and H. MATTINGLY. (Loeb Classical Library.) Pp. xx + 640. London: Heinemann, 1914. Price 5s.

It was a happy thought on the part of the editors of the Loeb Library to arrange for a translation of this charming tale in an early issue of their series. The story comes from India originally, but St. John of Damascus—the translators see no reason to doubt the traditional authorship—presented it to the world in a Greek dress. In this garb it delighted many generations of men, and became one of the most popular tales in all history. Not a few motives in later literature have their ultimate source in this book, including the tale of the caskets in *The Merchant of Venice*. The plot is briefly as follows: Joasaph, an Eastern monarch's son, is converted to Christianity by the monk Barlaam. His father uses every kind of device to thwart him of his purpose, and a terrible persecution of Christians ensues, but all in vain. In the end the King is converted, but presently dies. The son renounces his inheritance and becomes a hermit in the desert. Many conversations are given, in which are embodied some delightful apologues and also traditional arguments for Christianity, including the Apology of Aristides.

The translators have aimed at a style reminiscent of the Authorised Version, to harmonise with the numerous biblical quotations. The rendering is at times a trifle bizarre, as when τῶν θεηγόρων is translated 'the inspired clerks of God' and τὸ ἀνένδοτον 'unbuxomness,' but on the whole a great success has been achieved, the stately diction with its occasional homely word recalling the best seventeenth-century prose. The naive charm of the original has not

evaporated in the translation, and it is to be hoped that there will be many readers to be grateful to Mr. Woodward and Mr. Mattingly for having rescued the old tale from oblivion.

W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE.

Cavendish, Suffolk.

A propos d'Homère : Progrès et Recul de la Critique. Par L. LAURAND. Pp. 72. 2 fr.

THERE are certain French scholars who have the power of gathering up vast stores of knowledge without letting themselves be buried under it. They know all the recent books in all the languages, and they seem able to carry them in their heads and to give in a brief and lucid treatise a general view of their contents. Such, for instance, is Meillet's *Aperçu d'une Histoire de la Langue grecque*, and similar is this charming little brochure by the author of *Etudes sur le Style des Discours de Cicéron*.

The substance of the book is given in the following sentence (p. 43): 'Tandis que la méthode critique perfectionnée distingue, dans un seul et même écrivain, dans un seul et même livre, des différences de conception et d'idées, des différences de forme et de style, la critique homérique en était récemment encore à supposer que la moindre diversité suffit à prouver un poète différent.' M. Laurand begins with Wolf and his followers throughout the nineteenth century, who would note in Homer any little inconsistency or difference of style, 'et la moindre dissemblance suffisait à prouver l'existence de deux aèdes.' Then he gives us a summary of the work of the numberless scholars who busied themselves in tracing out similar phenomena in the writings of many authors, ancient and modern, Plato, for instance, and Cicero, Chateaubriand and Victor Hugo. This part of the treatise is specially valuable. It is surprising to find how many authors have been guilty of inconsistencies and contradictions, not to speak of variations of style. With the twentieth century we come to Blass who proclaims 'il est temps d'appliquer à Homère les mêmes

principes que nous nous sentons obligés d'employer pour tous les autres auteurs.' M. Laurand quotes from *Classical Review*, xx. (1906), p. 267, the review of Blass's 'Die Interpolationen' by 'M. Allen, dont les belles éditions de l'Iliade, de l'Odyssée, des Hymnes sont dans toutes les mains.' He concludes with a *résumé* of the most recent work on the Homeric Question. M. Laurand is writing a *Manuel des Etudes grecques et latines*: to judge from this little book he is well fitted for the task; he has learning, a sane judgment and a great gift for exposition.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

Platonische Aufsätze. By OTTO APELT. 8vo. 1 vol. Pp. 296. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912. M. 8.

THIS book contains twelve essays dealing with certain aspects of Plato's philosophy. The first three, entitled respectively, 'Der überhimmlische Ort,' 'Wahrheit,' and 'Disharmonien,' are concerned with pure philosophy. Four others, 'Das Prinzip der Platonischen Ethik,' 'Die Lehre von der Lust,' 'Der Wert des Lebens,' and 'Platon's Straftheorie,' discuss the practical bearing of Plato's doctrine. The remainder treat of minor questions connected with the dialogues.

In his treatment of Plato's ontology Herr Apelt makes a sharp distinction between 'Dialektik' and 'Weltansicht,' and shows that, if the same distinction had been clearer in the mind of Plato himself, the Idea and the Concept would not have been fused into one, and there would have been less uncertainty in his conclusions about the Ideal World. In regard to the important dialogue of the *Sophist* Herr Apelt takes the view that the definition of Being there is merely a dialectical shift, and does not indicate any new departure in Plato's ontology. He believes also that the Demiourgos or God of the *Timaeus* is to be taken literally, as representing a creative power or first cause. Plato's ontological analysis, therefore, resolves the universe ultimately into Space, Ideas, which serve as models for created things, and a God with power to create.

In the essays dealing with Plato's attitude to the practical side of life Herr Apelt brings out the great reverence paid by Plato to the Reason or λόγος, and shows that it was his aim, in ethics and politics, to subject every sphere of life to the norms of Reason. The myth in the *Politicus* is, according to Herr Apelt, simply an exhortation to the individual to trust his own reason, in contrast with the trustful, child-like people of the age of Kronos (p. 84).

Among the essays on minor subjects is found an interesting discussion on the tactics of the Platonic Socrates, in which the practices of reducing the interlocutors to self-contradiction, and of introducing various doubles or shadows of Socrates into the dialogues are commented on with excellent illustrations.

Those who read this collection of essays will be very grateful to Herr Apelt for his vigorous and original treatment of some of the leading problems of Platonic theory.

MARIE V. WILLIAMS.

*Huguenot College, Wellington,
Cape Colony.*

Pessimismus und Weltflucht bei Platon.
By Dr. GUSTAV ENTZ. 8vo. 1 vol.
Pp. 191. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr,
1911. M. 5.

WE have in this volume a singularly clear analysis and estimate of the pessimistic tendency in Plato's dialogues. This pessimism was to a certain extent the result of the Homeric view of life which tradition had handed down, and in the earliest dialogues it finds expression in an exposure of the corruption that permeated public life. Orphism brought a ray of hope when it taught that this life is not the sum-total of existence, but merely a preparation for the true life of which death is the beginning. This hope was eagerly seized by Plato, and, largely under its influence, he was led to construct that eternal world of ideas which remained untouched and uncontaminated by the transitoriness of material things. All ascetic doctrines, however, were rejected,

and the soul was to be nurtured not through the discipline of the body, but by a right control of conduct. A child-like optimism shines forth in the *Timaeus*, where the Good and Evil of the cosmos are both recognised, but the Good is given the upper hand. In Plato's old age the pessimistic tendency returned. In the dialogue called *The Laws* he realised that the ideal state is only a εὐχὴ, and sketched another second-best polity where the ideal should be followed as far as existing conditions might permit.

Dr. Entz does well to emphasise the religious and ethical significance of the Ideas, and to recognise that Dialectic was an ethical as well as an intellectual method. This view is exactly the thesis developed by Professor Stewart in his *Plato's Doctrine of Ideas*.

The analysis of the *Timaeus* and the contrast drawn between it and the earlier dialogues are on the whole just, but the ideal scheme of the *Philebus* and its relations with the *Timaeus* might have been more satisfactorily discussed.

Students of Platonism will find Dr. Entz' treatise a very stimulating, if not very original, book.

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*Tituli Faleriorum Veterum Linguis
Falisca et Etrusca Conscripti.* Edited
by GUSTAV HERBIG. Leipzig, 1910.

SINCERE apologies are due to the readers of the *Classical Review* and to the distinguished editor of these Inscriptions for the long but scarcely avoidable delay in this notice of the work. It is an off-print of nearly 300 Inscriptions, contained in the second section of Vol. II. of the *Corpus* of Etruscan Inscriptions, published for the benefit of those who may wish to study the language of ancient Falerii without pledging themselves to the study of Etruscan proper. It is needless to say that the volume shows the accuracy and lucidity which mark all Dr. Herbig's work; and there are few sets of inscrip-

tions which more greatly need his rigorous methods of reproduction and editing. The gratitude which scholars will feel to him for this (as for the subsequent parts of the *C. I. E.*) is tempered only by the regret that the positive fruit of his labour is confined within rather narrow limits. The bulk of these inscriptions contain hardly more than a single word apiece, where even so much as that is complete; though when they are, they are often valuable as giving the Faliscan form of particular names. Two or three inscriptions, however, stand out from the rest, especially, to mention only those that have been most recently discovered, 8191 and 8079. The former (8191) is the epitaph of two sisters, married to different men, but buried together, of whom one calls herself *Cavia* and the other *Cavi*, the second being the wife of a man with a name inflected in Faliscan or Etruscan fashion (Gen. *Felicitate*); the parallel *Cavi: Cavia* illustrates prettily the well-known difference between the Etruscan and the Latin nom. fem. endings, as in *Vipi: Vibia*. 8079 is on a small clay urn, now in fragments, found in a grave, and offers a text of considerable interest, though unfortunately its reading and interpretation are very far from certain. It appears to contain a petition of some kind addressed to Ceres, and dealing with various interesting matters, among them *arcentelum*, which Dr. Herbig conjecturally interprets to mean 'money.' He has discussed the inscription at length in the 2nd Vol. of *Glotta*, 1909, p. 184. It is certainly a vow of some kind; conceivably a curse, like the Duenos inscription. The volume is particularly attractive because of the careful facsimiles, though it is hard to say how many of the Inscriptions really repay the expense which has been lavished upon them.

R. S. C.

Studien zur Lateinischen und Griechischen Sprachgeschichte. Von EMIL THOMAS. Berlin, 1912. M. 4.

THIS is an interesting collection of 36 short studies of words and phrases in colloquial Latin, chiefly in the text of

Petronius and Apuleius, which have not hitherto been understood, and many of which folk have wished to emend away. By the careful use of other sources of our knowledge of colloquial Latin, especially of Plautus, the author has in a great many places vindicated the manuscript text, and in all, I think, added something of value to our knowledge of Latin. The derivation of *apoculare*, a hybrid, meaning 'to put out of sight,' *vavato*, a jocose name for a baby ('the creature that says *va va*'), the explanation of the phrase *mulier quae mulier*, to mean 'a woman who is (really) a woman,' the restoration of the form *παρὰ πλευντέον* in Cicero, *ad Att.* 10. 12. 2, and the explanation of *νυμφόσματα* in a Sibylline oracle (Diels, *Sibyll. Blätter*, p. 113), may be mentioned as particularly convincing.

The subjects of the remaining papers, which are likely to be very useful to students of colloquial Latin, are as follows:

<i>flagrare, deflagrare.</i>	<i>resecare.</i>
<i>refrigidire.</i>	<i>excipere.</i>
<i>pervaporare.</i>	<i>protegere.</i>
<i>multacia.</i>	<i>lacerare.</i>
<i>biberarius, bibaria.</i>	<i>subalapa.</i>
<i>por(i)cinum.</i>	<i>tuscularius.</i>
<i>madulsa.</i>	<i>assias, lupatria, dictorium.</i>
<i>tinctorium.</i>	<i>babaecalus.</i>
<i>delactus.</i>	<i>cator(o)gare.</i>
<i>ma(c)tare</i> (and the exclamations <i>tat</i> and <i>an</i>).	<i>stam(i)natus ducere.</i>
<i>inferiores.</i>	<i>tangomenas facere.</i>
<i>servire, c. acc.</i>	<i>contumelia, xerophagiae sebae.</i>
<i>horreor.</i>	<i>cacclistus.</i>
<i>execrabiliter.</i>	<i>isti eug' euge.</i>
<i>sincerus.</i>	<i>deuro de facere.</i>
<i>verax.</i>	

It may be presumed that Dr. Emil Thomas, whose book is dated from Berlin, is a different person from the senior and distinguished Professor Emile Thomas, of Lille, the editor of the *Verrines*, but his studies are interesting, and not unworthy of his name.

R. S. C.

LATIN COMEDY.

P. Terenti Phormio, ed. by J. Sargeant of Westminster School (Pitt

Press, with or without vocabulary, 3s.). This is a good edition for those who are just beginning the study of Latin Comedy. The editor likes Terence, and knows him well. The Introduction and Notes will stimulate interest and give most of the help that is likely to be needed. But in a good many places we should like a few more hints as to what is going on; for it is often difficult, even with some experience, to tell from the printed text how the words are spoken (e.g. 555), what is spoken aside, what is said ironically, and so on. Now and then the editor adds to the difficulty by a careless mistake: e.g. 751, 'might get him into trouble with his Lemnian [? Athenian] wife'; 310, 'Geta and Pamphila [? Phaedria] now go out'; 223, *quin tu impera*, 'just give no orders' ['no' for 'me'?). These little slips are as puzzling as that *Mrs.* for *Mr.* in Mr. Conrad's novel *Chance* (ch. ii., line 3, p. 31) which makes the careful reader run through the preceding chapter again to make sure that the lady has not been mentioned.

Plauti Aulularia, ed. by E. J. Thomas (Clarendon Press, 4s. 6d.), is suitable for a more advanced stage. The Notes (37 pp.) are helpful and full of information, especially on historical grammar, expressed as briefly as possible. On 340-1 *si quid uti voles . . . adfero* the editor says 'the imperative taking the place of the regular apodosis,' as if the use of the imperative in a conditional sentence were not quite regular. It is, of course, regular and frequent in Latin, as in English. On 656 on (*hunc*) *si amitto* (*hic abierit*) the note is 'The use of tenses in a dependent clause in older Latin is quite free; classical Latin would have the fut. perf.' Is the difference so great? Lebreton says, pp. 188 ff.: 'Je vais essayer de montrer . . . que l'usage de Cic. se rapproche sur ce point, plus qu'on ne le dit, de celui des comiques,' and he quotes a large number of examples, a large proportion, but by no means all, from the letters.

Professor Hauler has again revised Dziatzko's edition of the *Phormio* of Terence (Teubner, M. 4.80, bound M. 5.40). The book is meant, not for schoolboys, but for maturer students,

for whom it is to serve as an introduction to the reading of early Latin. For this purpose it is excellent. The editor has a very extensive knowledge of recent work in this field, and he has spared no pains to give full information and to arrange it well. He sets before us clearly and not at undue length what is known on any question, and on all doubtful points gives references to works where one can find the evidence more fully presented and discussed. The excellent Index will make the book useful as a handy reference work. The note on 514 *ne oppertus sies* needs revision; reference is made to Elmer's article in the *Amer. Journ. of Phil.*, XV. (1894), 133 ff., in which it was contended that the Pft. Subjv. in prohibitions was very rare and expressed strong feeling. Elmer's view has met with much criticism, not only as a general doctrine, but as applied to authors and periods' (Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin*, I. 174). If it is referred to, it would be well to add a reference to Lebreton's very full discussion in his *Etudes sur la langue et la gram. de Cicéron*, pp. 293 ff., and to Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram.*, II. 1. p. 189.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

Fr. Fessler. *Benutzung der philosophischen Schriften Ciceros durch Lactanz*. Pp. 1-56. Teubner. 1913.

THIS is a work by the Court Chaplain at Dresden, dedicated to his royal master. The writer discusses various questions connected with Lactantius—e.g. his birthplace, giving reference to other works on the subject. The 'Christian Cicero' is an interesting figure in literature, although he met with neglect in his generation, being, as Jerome remarks, *adeo in hac vita pauper ut plerumque etiam necessariis indiguerit*. Also, posterity looked on him askance, deeming him more meritorious as an assailant of paganism than as a defender of Christian dogma. Fessler, in this unpretending work, deals with the use of Cicero made by Lactantius in his *Institutiones*, and shows clearly that Lactantius was more influenced by

Cicero than by any other author. The works from which he drew most were the *De natura deorum*, *Tusculanae*, *Academica* and *De legibus*. He quotes from lost treatises—e.g. the *Hortensius* and *Consolatio*, also once from the *Pro Murena*, which nearly shared their fate. Fessler analyses Books I.-II., giving an account of their subject-matter and showing how the treatment is modelled upon Cicero. In the case of the remaining books (III.-VII.), he contents himself with a list of imitations, with references, to which he adds a subject-index. The work will be found useful.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

Queen's College, Oxford.

The Influence of Isocrates on Cicero, Dionysius and Aristides. By H. M. HUBBELL. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 84. (Yale University Press) Oxford: Clarendon Press. (\$1.25.) 5s. 6d. net.

THIS is a degree thesis which traces the influence of Isocrates not on the style but on the thought of later writers. The first section, which contains nothing new, sets forth the Isocratean idea of oratory. (The *idéai* seem to be better represented in English by 'common-place arguments' rather than by 'thought elements,' p. 7). The peculiar character of the *πρὸς Νικοκλέα* is explained by its being a mere collection of *idéai* on government and morality such as Isocrates put before his students. After this preliminary section the *De Oratore* is examined to prove that Cicero took his whole idea of the art of oratory from Isocrates. To both the orator is a statesman. The dichotomy between 'philosophy' and rhetoric is false. This theme is adequately developed, but there is nothing very striking in it. The orator-statesman was traditional in Greece, and it is only Plato's use of the term *φιλοσοφία* as confined to *θεωρητική φιλοσοφία* that has made the case worth bringing forward at all. Cicero obviously admired Isocrates, but it is defending a thesis to trace the whole of Cicero's conception of the function of the orator to Isocrates. Still some of the parallels do prove that Cicero

was imitating, especially when he follows Isocrates in claiming various Athenian statesmen as orators on grounds of barest probability. Then the same is done for Dionysius and his *φιλόσοφος ῥητορική* and for Aristides. Parallels are deduced with great care and learning, but the theme is a little thin. And surely revision was needed here. So far as I have observed, no writers notice oratorical ability in Solon or Clisthenes (p. 36). Aristides also praises Solon, who was adduced by Isocrates as an example of the orator-statesman (p. 59). These five statesmen form the basis for Aristides' claim that oratory and statesmanship are inseparably united. These are the same examples used by Isocrates (who adds to the list Clisthenes) (p. 60)! Dormitāt Homerus with a vengeance. The book is beautifully produced.

R. B. APPLETON.

Bibliotheca Philologica Classica et Archaeologica. (Catalogue de livres anciens et modernes aux prix marqués, No. 50). Large 8vo. Pp. 548. Leyde (Hollande): Burgersdijk and Niermans. 2 fl. (3s. 4d.).

Bibliographie Pratique de la Littérature Grecque des origines à la fin de la période Romaine. Par PAUL MASQUERAY. Pp. 334. Paris: Klincksieck. 5 f.

THE first of these two useful reference books, though but a trade catalogue, is a catalogue that occasionally supplements *Engelmann* on some old edition and is wonderful value for the price. It is not so full as *Klussmann*, but quite full enough for ordinary working purposes. Occasional notes are given as to the merit or rarity of some particular edition. There is a section on Neo-Latin authors, and nearly two hundred pages on books on the classics arranged under headings such as grammar, metric, history of literature, religion, etc. It represents, of course, the peculiarities of one bookseller's stock, but it is a very extensive stock of some sixteen thousand volumes. Certainly no classical scholar who is attempting to collect a small library should be without it.

The second is particularly useful to those who wish to know something about the manuscripts and scholia. Bibliographically, it is not very full, but it contains the most important things with full and useful comments. Published originally for the guidance of Professor Masqueray's own students at Bordeaux, it should be welcome to any student who does not want the more exhaustive and more expensive German works. It is divided into two books—before and after Aristotle—and classes the authors as historians, orators, etc. There is a subject, and also a general index.

R. B. APPLETON.

The Peace of Aristophanes. By B. B. ROGERS. Pp. i-xliii + 1-228. London: Bell, 1913. 10s. 6d.

WHETHER or no there was a second edition of the *Peace*, Mr. Rogers' excellent volume has now appeared for the second time, revised and augmented for the complete *Aristophanes*. There

is no need now to dwell on the merits of Mr. Rogers' series—the brilliant verse translation, the pleasant and shrewd commentary, the full and instructive critical notes. Mr. Rogers may be a little too much attached to the old and disinclined to the new: that is a quality which he shares with his author, and he always defends his position with good sense and temper. Since the date of his former book a large amount of work has been done on the *Peace*, and he seems to have mastered it all, even if some of it in his judgment has been but labour lost, e.g. the various speculations on the scenic difficulties; these he solves for himself by the supposition of a second stage drawn across the first, so as to give the higher level needed for the palace of Zeus. His excellent English trochaics match in attractiveness the Greek ones in which Hermes gives the true story of the Peloponnesian War and those which paint the life of the country, the weather, the fruitage, and the well-side where the violets are.

H. RICHARDS.

TRANSLATION

Σκόλιον δὲ φασὶ τινες καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ Ὑβρίου τοῦ Κρητὸς ποιηθέν. ἔχει δ' οὕτως.

Ἔστι μοι πλοῦτος μέγας δόρυ καὶ ξίφος
καὶ τὸ καλὸν λαισήιον, πρόβλημα χρωτός.
τούτῳ γὰρ ἄρῳ, τούτῳ θερίζω,
τούτῳ πατέω τὸν ἄδυν οἶνον ἀπ' ἀμπέλου·
τούτῳ δεσπότης μνωίας κέκλημαι.

Τοὶ δὲ μὴ τολμῶντ' ἔχειν δόρυ καὶ ξίφος
καὶ τὸ καλὸν λαισήιον, πρόβλημα χρωτός,
πάντες γόνυ πεπτηῶτες ἄμυν
... κυνεῦντι τε δεσπότην
καὶ μέγαν βασιλέα φωνέοντες.

Apud *Athenaeum*, 595 f.
(ed. Dindorf, 1827).

SONG: *From the Greek of Hybrias the Cretan.*

Great wealth is mine in spear and sword
And goodly shield of hides, to guard
My body from the foeman.
Therewith I reap, therewith I sow,
Therewith I make sweet vintage flow,
Therewith I give the world to know
That I'm a sturdy yeoman.

And them that shun the spear and sword
And goodly shield of hides, to guard
Their bodies from the foeman—
Down at my feet I make 'em fall,
Till grovelling low the recreants call:
'Thou art the master of us all,
A mightier lord is noman!'

J. LODGE.

15, Wexford Road, Wandsworth Common.

NOTES AND NEWS

WE have to apologise for our late appearance last month. It is not safe to criticise the Censor, so we will not lay the blame on him.

In a recent number of the *American Journal of Philology* (xxxv. 361), the Editor, Professor Gildersleeve, writes as follows:

... What one reviewer would be equal to a characterisation of the fifty odd contributions which make up the superb volume of *ESSAYS AND STUDIES* dedicated to that rare genius, William Ridgeway, on his sixtieth birthday, August 6, 1913 (Cambridge: At the University Press)? The cover is adorned by an escutcheon—the crest a camel couchant, the motto *MIHI GRAVATO DEUS*. Nothing more appropriate, crest and motto both, for the average editor in view of all this wealth of content, which no one, I venture to say, could take up so lightly as the honoured scholar to whom the volume is dedicated—himself equally at home in Classics and Archaeology, Mediaeval Literature and History; himself a dominant figure in Anthropology and Comparative Literature. 'Take up so lightly,' I have written, for it is the easy mastery of each subject and the flash of native genius that commend Ridgeway's writings to those who can only learn from him. As a writer of dedicatory verses says:

Of tedious pedants though the world be full,
While Ridgeway lives Research can ne'er be dull.

NOTES ON THE NORTHUMBER-
LAND AND DURHAM
CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION.

1. OUR Summer Expedition first visited the Saxon Church of Escomb, which has a Roman arch, and built into the wall a stone with a legionary number inscribed thereon; and secondly the famous hypocaust of Vinovia (Binchester).

2. We had a paper on November 14, by B. Anderton, M.A., on 'Lipsius, a sixteenth-century Stoic at Louvain.' The paper dealt in an appreciative manner with Lipsius' life, his services to learning, and to various academic centres. His Stoicism was mainly illustrated from the *Manuductio ad Stoicam Philosophiam*, which was carefully summarized. The concluding part of the paper concerned Lipsius' attitude to the character of Seneca.

Canon Cruickshank, in discussion, dwelt on Lipsius' scholarship in relation to Tacitus in particular. Professor Dutt spoke of Lipsius as a Senecan scholar, and quoted both from the dedication of the edition of Seneca to Pope Paul V., and from the *de Constantia* of Lipsius' passage which might literally be applied to the woes of Belgium to-day. The subject was an appropriate one on the eve of the fête-day of the King of the Belgians.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE TEUBNER PLINY.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

JUST before the declaration of war, Herr W. A. Baehrens wrote to me from Berlin a letter, which eventually reached me, referring to two quotations from Kukula's Latin preface to his edition of the younger Pliny which were made by me in my notice in *The Classical Review* of last June. Kukula's remarks were obviously uncomplimentary to Baehrens' edition of the

Panegyrici Latini, and as they appeared unlikely to be mistaken for models of scholarly *politesse*, they were cited by me without express commendation or condemnation. I have no intention of intervening in this continental quarrel; but, in fairness to Baehrens and to his edition, I should say that in his opinion a reference to the *Berlin. Philolog. Wochenschr.* of October 14, 1913, will enable readers to judge of Kukula's attitude ('Sie werden dann das Verfahren Kukulas besser beurteilen

können,' he says). He objects most of all to the charge of having introduced 'nefanda' into his text—'wofür ein Druckfehler *caberis* angeführt wird?'

Professor Merrill of the University of Chicago has very courteously written to me in connexion with the same article, indicating his accord with many of its suggestions and criticisms. He still, however, defends *me apud quemquam* in Pliny *Ep.* I. ix. 5 against Keil, Summers, and Kukula, who prefer *nemo apud me quemquam sinistris sermonibus carpit*. I am not convinced by Professor Merrill, but I quote the argument from his letter:

'Pliny shows often enough his sensitiveness to criticism. Here he is contrasting the society-life of the city with the refreshing isolation and freedom of the country, where he is free from the consciousness of backbiting attacks and (he says politely) from the temptation to retort in kind. He has turned his back on the city.

What goes on there is nothing to him—he is talking about the country only.'

Professor Merrill explains that in the forthcoming larger edition of Pliny he edits Books I.—IX. independently, and Kukula the Trajan-letters and the Panegyric. It will not, therefore, be a real joint-editorship, though Kukula will assist in proof-reading throughout. Incidentally Professor Merrill gives the interesting information that his MS. for Books I.—IX. has been in Teubner's hands since a year last March, and about a half is printed; only, now that typesetters have been made into soldiers, the work is at a standstill.

Another important announcement, and to me a gratifying one, is that for the text he has not followed the B[=R]F tradition as closely as in 1903.

J. WIGHT DUFF.

Armstrong College,
October 31, 1914.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

. *Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

Benn (A. W.) *The Greek Philosophers.* Second edition. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxxvi+620. London: Smith Elder and Co., 1914. Cloth, 18s. net.

Bryant (E. E.) *A Short History of Rome.* 8" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. viii+262. Cambridge: University Press, 1914. Cloth, 3s. 6d.

Cheesman (G. L.) *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army.* 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 192. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914. Paper boards, 5s. net.

Cook (A. B.) *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion.* Vol. I.: Zeus, God of the Bright Sky. 10" x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xlv+888, with 42 plates, 566 figures. Cambridge: University Press. Cloth, £2 5s. net.

Hall (H. R.) *Aegean Archaeology. An Introduction to the Archaeology of Prehistoric Greece.* With many illustrations and a map. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxii+270. London: P. Lee Warner. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.

Harry (J. E.) *The Greek Tragic Poets.*

9" x 6". Pp. 254. Cincinnati: The University Press, 1914. \$2.

Kalypto. By Aldo Ferrabino. 8" x 5". Pp. 448. Omaggio: F. M. Bocca, 1914. L. 6.

Latin Prose Grammar. By E. L. Churchill and E. V. Slater. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. x+331. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1914. Cloth, 3s. 6d.

Sihler (E. G.) *Cicero of Arpinum.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xii+487. Oxford: University Press (for the Yale University Press), 1914. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

The Map and its Story (A Physical Atlas). 12" x 10". Pp. 44. London: G. W. Bacon and Co., 1914. 1s. net.

Walter Map, de Nugis Curialium. Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series. Part XIV, by M. R. James. 9" x 8". Pp. xl+288. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914. 18s. 6d. net.

Woodhouse (S. C.) *The Englishman's Latin Dictionary.* 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. iv+491. London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1914. Cloth.

INDEX

I.—GENERAL INDEX.

A.

- Acharnians*, performance of the, at Oxford, 69 f.
 Achilles, character of, 130a, b
 Adam's Plato: *Moral and Political Ideals*, noticed, 177
Adcock (F. E.), *The Source of Plutarch: Solon* (XX.-XXIV.), 38 ff.
 advertisement, ancient methods of, 59b
 Aeneas Tacticus, 169 f.
Aeneid, growth of the, 232 ff.
 the Stoic εἰσαγωγή in the, 234b
 Aequi and Rutuli, 88b
Agar (T. L.), on Sappho's Ode, 189 f.
Agricola, notes on the, 43 ff.
 αἰτναῖοι κἀνθαροί, 223 ff.
 'Alcumena Euripidi', 40 f.
 Aldebaran, the Bright, 190 f.
 See also p. 267
Allen, (T. W.), notice of Roemer's *Aristarch's Athetesen in der Homerkritik*, 141 f.
 notice of Smyth's *Composition of the Iliad*, 230 f.
 Amazon myths—embody traditions of the Hittites, 57 f.
 reflect the Cretan cult of the Mother, 58b
 Amphitheatrum Castrense, 26b
 ancient methods of communication, 58 f.
 town-planning, 244 ff.
Anderson (T. G. C.), notice of Bloch's *La République Romaine*, 107
Anderson (W. B.), *Two Editions of Lucan*, 235 ff.
 Andresen's revision of Halm's *Annals of Tacitus* (Teubner), noticed, 212 f.
 animals of the ancients, 53 ff.
Anonymus de Rebus Bellicis, date of, 106b
 ἀνωγνίστος—δνωγνίστος, 229
 Apelt's *Platonische Aufsätze*, noticed, 281b, f.
 Apicius the gourmet, 66b
 Apollo, Cretan elements in the cults and ritual of, 62
 Apollonius Rhodius, Mooney's edition of, 15 ff.
 was he Librarian of the Alexandrian Library? 15b, f.
 his quarrel with Callimachus, 16a
 readings in, 16b, ff.
Appleton (E. B.), notice of Smith's *Greek Art and National Life*, 21 f.
 notice of *English Literature and the Classics*, 213
 notice of Hubbell's *Influence of Isocrates on Cicero, Dionysius and Aristides*, 285
 notice of two reference books, 28b, f.
 aquai in Lucretius, 264 ff.

NO. CCXLVI. VOL. XXVIII.

Archimedes:—

- editio princeps* of, 51a
 MSS. of, *ib.*
 new sources, 51a, b
 recent editions of, *ib.*
 Aristarchus of Samos, 22a, b
 Aristarchus' atheteses in Homer, 141 f.
 Aristotelian Enthymeme, the, 113 ff.
Arnold (E. Vernon), notice of Bevan's *Stoics and Sceptics*, 62 f.
 'Some Works on Syntax—a Reply,' 67 f.
 artaba, the Roman, 199b
 Aryans in Palestine, 269b
 Asopus, the Phliasian, 86 f., 156 f.
 ἀσθηρ σελπιος in Eur. *I. A.* (6-7), 267
 See also pp. 190-1
 astrology, 271b, f.
 Athens, topography of, 166 f.
 Augustales, the, 92b
 Augustus, birthday of, 272b
 horoscope of, 273a, b
 Virgil's early relations with, 119 f.
 Αἰξάνιος, 197b, f.

B.

- Baebius Italicus, 182b
Bailey (Cyril), notices of Litchfield's *Cicero's Judgment on Lucretius* and Reid's *Lucretiana*, 100 ff.
 notice of Fowler's *Roman Ideas of Deity*, 241 ff.
 Ballou's *De clausulis a Flavio Vopisco Syracusio adhibitis*, noticed, 251b, f.
 Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, Stoic elements in, 178b, f.
 Baumgarten, Poland and Wagner, *Die Hellenistisch-romische Kultur*, noticed, 250
 Baur's *Centauris in Ancient Art: the Archaic Period*, noticed, 104 f.
Bell (H. I.), notice of various writers on Graeco-Roman Egypt, 198 ff.
 Beneventan script, 209 f.
 Bennett's *Religious Cults associated with the Amazons*, noticed, 58b
 Bevan's *Stoics and Sceptics*, noticed, 62
Bibliotheca Philologica Classica et Archaeologica (Cat. de livres anciens et modernes aux prix marqués), noticed, 285b
 Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre*, noticed, 182b, f.
 birds of the ancients, 54 f.
 Bloch's *La République Romaine*, noticed, 107
 Blum's *De compositione numerosa dialogi Ciceronis de Amicitia*, noticed, 214

- BOOKS RECEIVED**, 31 f., 71 f., 111 f., 143 f., 183 f., 216, 256, 288
- Botsford's** (G. W. and L. S.), *A Source Book of Ancient History*, noticed, 99b
- Bouchier's** *Life and Letters in Roman Africa*, noticed, 26b, f.
- Brinkgreve's** *Statii Achilleis*, noticed, 67
- Brown (J. R.)**, notice of Gaetano de Sanctis' *Arbis*, 96 f.
- Brugmann's** *Griechische Grammatik, Lautlehre, Stammbildungs- und Flexionslehre, Syntax*, noticed, 60b, f.
- Buck (Carl D.)**, *Hörs* as evidence for *Esse*, 157b, f.
- Burnet (John)**, on the meaning of *λόγος* in Aristotle's *Ethics*, 6 f.
- Burnet's** *Die Anfänge der griechischen Philosophie*, noticed, 250a
- Bury's** *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century, with a Revised Text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos*, noticed, 27b
- Bury (R. G.)**, notice of Mrs. Adam's *Plato: Moral and Political Ideals*, 177
- notice of Bidez' *Vie de Porphyre*, 182b, f.
- notice of Hackforth's *Authorship of the Platonic Epistles*, 231 f.
- notice of Teubner texts of Sextus Empiricus, Proclus, Diadochus, 270 f.
- Butler (H. E.)**, notice of Helm's *Apologia of Apuleius* (Teubner), 181b, f.
- Butler's** (H. E.) *Properius*, noticed, 175
- Butler's** (H. Montague) *Some Leisure Hours of a Long Life*, noticed, 279b, f.
- C.**
- Caesar's** deification, 242b, f.
- Cagnat's** *L'Armée romaine d'Afrique et l'occupation militaire de l'Afrique sous les empereurs*, noticed, 105 f.
- Cours d'épigraphie latine*, noticed, 107 f.
- Callimachus**, new fragments of, 88a
- Calpurnius**, note on, 268a
- Capricorn**, Augustus born under, 272 f.
- Cardinali's** *Studi Graccani*, noticed, 167 f.
- Caspari (M. O.)**, notice of Cardinali's *Studi Graccani*, 167 ff.
- notice of Gercke's *Entstehung der Aeneis*, 232 ff.
- Casson (S.)**, the Persian expedition to Delphi, 145 ff.
- Catullus**, new translations of, 137 ff.
- Centaurs**, their representation in ancient art, 104 f.
- Cheesman (G. L.)**, notice of Cagnat's *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*, 105 f.
- notice of Riese's *Das rheinische Germanien*, 255 f.
- chemical formulae in Greek papyri, 28b
- Chicago Papyri**, fragments of hexameter poems in, 143b
- Cicero's** judgment on Lucretius, 100 f., 142
- Clark (Albert C.)**, notice of Ballou's *De Clausulis a Flavio Vopisco Syracusio adhibitis*, 251b, f.
- notice of Blum's *De compositione numerosa dialogi Ciceronis de Amicitia*, 214
- notice of Edmonds' *Greek Bucolic Poets*, 159 ff.
- notice of Fessler's *Benützung der philosophischen Schriften Cicero's durch Lactanz*, 284b, f.
- notice of new Teubner text of *De Senectute*, 205
- notice of Waltzing's *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius*, 64 f.
- Clarke (W. R. Lowther)**, notice of *Exempla Codicum Gracorum*, Vol. I. (Codices Mosquenses), 279
- notice of Gronau's *Poseidonius und die jüdisch-christliche Genesisexegesis*, 178b, f.
- notice of Woodward and Mattingly's *St. John Damascene, Barlaam and Joasaph*, 280b
- Classical Association of Northumberland and Durham**, 287
- of Victoria, 215a
- Cleopatra-Aphrodite**, 200b
- Cohen's** *De Magistratibus Aegyptiis externas Lagidarum Regni Provincias administrantibus*, noticed, 198 f.
- coinage of the Constantinian period, 28a
- coins of Maximinus, 28a
- Commodian**, two books on, 139 ff.
- date of, 140
- Conway (R. S.)**, notes on *Culex*, 24-41 (supplementing Warde Fowler), 121 f.
- notice of Herbig's *Tituli Faleriorum Veterum Linguis Conscripti*, 282 f.
- notice of Rosenberg's *The City State in Ancient Italy*, 274 ff.
- Cook Wilson's** (Professor) view of the meaning of *λόγος* in Aristotle, criticised, 1 ff., 6 f.
- Cooke, (G. A.)**, notice of McIntosh's *Study of Augustine's Versions of Genesis*, 239 f.
- Cope** on the Aristotelian enthymeme, 114 ff.
- Corinna**, 229b
- '**Corintho-Attic**' vases, export of, 164a
- Cornish**, Postgate and Mackail's *Catullus, Tibullus, and the Pervigilium Veneris*, noticed, 138 f.
- CORRESPONDENCE**, 29, 67, ff., 142, 256, 287
- Culex*, the, dedicated by Virgil to Octavian, 119 ff.
- probable date of, 120a
- cursus*, the Latin, 151 ff.
- Cynthia**, 8a, 9b
- D.**
- δαμνίων*, meaning of, in Xenophon, 185 ff.
- in Plato, 187b, f.
- dativial suffix, the original Idg., 264a
- Davis' Translations from Catullus**, noticed, 138 f.
- Demothenes**, notes on *Leptines*, 49b, f., 128
- Phormio*, 267b, f.
- Public Orations* (transl.), 142
- derivation of the word *πόλεμος*, on the, 266 f.
- Didymus**, Plutarch's use of, 38 ff.
- Dikatomata: Auszüge aus Alexandrinischen Gesetzen und Verordnungen**, noticed, 23b, f.
- Donatus' Commentary on Terence**, 66
- dreams, the reality of, 230
- Duff (T. Wight)**, notice of Kukula's text of Pliny the Younger (Teubner), 134 ff.
- See also *Correspondence*, 288
- Durance**, the river, crossed by Hannibal, 123 ff.
- Durel's** *Les Instructions de Commodien*, and *Commodien: Recherches sur la doctrine, la langue et le vocabulaire du poète*, noticed, 139 f.
- E.**
- Eddington (A. S.)**, notice of Neugebauer's *Tafeln für Sonne, Planeten und Mond nebst Tafeln der Mondphasen*, 179
- Edmonds (T. M.)**, the New Lyric Fragments, 73 ff.
- notice of Preisendanz's *Carmina Anacreontea*, 132 f.
- Edmonds's Greek Bucolic Poets**, noticed, 159 ff.
- Ehrlich's Untersuchungen über die Natur der griechischen Betonung**, noticed, 60
- emancipation of Roman women, the, 204 f.
- enclitic forms of *ἐγώ* and *σύ*, the, with special reference to John xx. 17, and Acts xxvi. 28, 227 f.
- English Literature and the Classics**, noticed, 213
- Ennius**, metrical innovations of, 208a

- enthymeme, meaning of the word, in Aristotle, 113 ff.
 in Sophocles, Xenophon, Isocrates, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, 117b
 in later Greek and Roman writers, 114a
 in medieval and modern logic, *ib.*
 in St. Thomas Aquinas, 118a
 Entz's *Pessimismus und Weltflucht bei Platon*, noticed, 282
 epitaph on a gladiator, 197b, f.
 Ernout's *Latin Morphology*, noticed, 253b
 Etruscan League, the, 275a
 nom. fem. endings, 283a
 Euripides, notes on—*Bacchae* (659), 48b; (677 sq.), 47 f.
Rhesus (287 sqq.), 87 f.
 Høse as evidence for *εἶσα*, 157b, f.

F.

- Faliscan inscriptions, 283a
 Ferguson (W. S.), notice of Baumgarten, Poland, and Wagner's *Die Hellenistisch-romische Kultur*, 250
 Fessler's *Benützung der philosophischen Schriften Ciceros durch Lactanz*, noticed, 284b, f.
 Festus and Paulus Diaconus, Teubner texts of, 246 f.
 Finsler's *Homer*, noticed, 129 f.
 Fischer's (F.) *Thucydidis Reliquiae in Papyris et Membranis Aegyptiacis Servatae*, noticed, 251
 Fischer's (H.) *Quaestiones Aeneanae*, noticed, 169 ff.
 Fisher (C. D.), notices of Peterson's *Dialogus* and Hutton's *Agricola*, Germania, 214b, f.
 Formigé's *Remarques diverses sur les Théâtres Romains*, noticed, 248b, f.
 *Fortuna, 242a, b
 Fowler (W. Warde), note on *Aeneid* vii. (748-9), 88 f.
 notice of Thulins' *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, 108b, f.
 note on *Culex* (ll. 24-41), 119 ff.
 notice of Lindsay's *Festus*, 246 f.
 Fowler's *Roman Ideas of Deity in the last Century before the Christian Era*, noticed, 241 ff.

G.

- G., notice of Bury's *Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, 27 f.
 Gaetano de Sanctis, *Arctis*, noticed, 96 f.
 Gardner (E. A.), notice of Weller's *Athens and its Monuments*, 166 f.
 the Panathenaic Ship of Herodes Atticus, 225 f.
 Gardner (P.), notice of Baur's *Centauris in Ancient Art*, 104 f.
 notice of Perrot and Chipiez's *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 163 ff.
 Gardner's *Principles of Greek Art*, noticed, 249
 Garrod (H. W.), *aquai* in Lucretius, 264 ff.
 notice of Brinkgreve's *Statii Achilleis*, 67
 notices of Teuffel's *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, and Schanz's *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 103 f.
 notice of Butler's *Propertius*, 175
 notice of Heseltine's *Petronius*, 253 f.
 Garrod's *Manili Astronomicum. Liber II.*, noticed, 271 ff.
 Garstang's introduction to Strong's *Syrian Goddess*, noticed, 61b

- Gaselee (S.), notice of Giarratano's *De Re Coquinaria*, 66b
 notice of Helm's text of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, 181
 genitives of the first and fifth declensions, 264 ff.
genius of the paterfamilias, the, 241b
 Gercke's *Entstehung der Aeneis*, noticed, 232 ff.
 Giarratano's *De Re Coquinaria*, noticed, 66b
 Giussani on Lucretius, 102b
 Gloucester, Roman remains at, 172a
 Godley (A. D.), notice of Butler's *Some Leisure Hours of a Long Life*, 279b, f.
 Gow (T.), notice of Heath's *Aristarchus of Samos*, 22
 Gracchi, history of the, 167 f.
 Graeco-Roman Egypt, a review of various books on, 198 ff.
 Granger (Frank), notice of Pöhlmann's *History of the Social Question in the Antique World*, 90 ff.
 notice of Teuffer's *Zur Geschichte der Frauenemanzipation in alten Rom*, 204 f.
 Granger's *Roma Aeterna*, noticed, 211b
 Greek astronomy, 22b
 final clauses, 203 f.
 mathematicians, 50b
 metrological tracts, 199b
 musical and stress accents, 60
 transcriptions of Latin, 158
 vase-painting, 164 f.
 Gronau's *Poseidonius und die jüdisch-christliche Genesise*, noticed, 178b, f.

H.

- H. (F.), *Portus Itius*, 82 ff.
 notice of Cagnat's *Cours d'épigraphie latine*, 107b, f.
 notice of Mommsen's *Gesammelte Schriften*, 180b, f.
 notice of Formigé's *Remarques diverses sur les Théâtres Romains*, 248
 Hackforth's *Authorship of the Platonic Epistles*, noticed, 231 f.
 Haines (C. E.), a few notes on the text of Marcus Aurelius, 219 ff.
 Hall (H. E.), notice of Thompson's *New Decipherment of the Hittite Hieroglyphs*, 269 f.
 Hall's *Companion to Classical Texts*, noticed, 133 f.
 Hannibal's route through the Alps, 123 ff.
 as described by Polybius, 123 f., and by Livy, 125 f.
 Hardy (E. G.), notice of Magoffin's *The Quinquenales*, 108
 Hardy's *Roman Laws and Charters*, noticed, 176 f.
 Hardy's *Shorter Aeneid*, noticed, 211a
 Harrison (E.), notice of Pickard-Cambridge's *Public Orations of Demosthenes*, 142
 Harrison (Miss J. E.), the meaning of the word *τελετή*, 36 ff.
 notice of Strong's *Syrian Goddess*, 61
 notice of Swindler's *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo*, 62
 Harry (J. E.), an emendation of Euripides (*Bacchae*, 677-678), 47 f.
 on the Bright Aldebaran, 190 f.
 Hauler's *P. Terenti Phormio* (Teubner), noticed, 284b
 Haverfield (F.), notes on the *Agricola*, 43 ff.
 notice of Reid's *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 171 f.
 Legions and *Auxilia*, 226 f.
 Haverfield's *Ancient Town-Planning*, noticed, 244 ff.
 Heath (Sir T. L.), notice of some mathematical books, 50 ff.
 Heath's *Aristarchus of Samos*, noticed, 22

- Heiberg's *Archimedis opera omnia cum commentariis Eutocii* (Vols. I, II.); *Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia* (Vol. IV.); *Heronis definitiones*, etc.; noticed, 50 ff.
- heliocentric theory of the universe dates from Aristarchus of Samos, 22b
- Helm's *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis Metamorphoseon Libri XI.*, and *Apulei pro se de Magia liber* (*Apologetica*), noticed, 181 f.
- Hera Teleia, 36b, f.
- Heracleides Ponticus, 23b
- Herodes Atticus, 225
- Heron, the Teubner edition of, 52
MSS. of, *ib.*
- Hermippus, Plutarch's use of, 38 ff.
- Heseltine's *Petronius* (Loeb Series), noticed, 253b, f.
- Hilberg's *S. Hieronymi Epistolae II. (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum)*, noticed, 65
- Hill (G. F.), notice of Maurice's *Numismatique Constantinienne*, 28
notice of Wissowa and Kroll, *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie*, 177 f.
- Hirst (G. M.), note on Statius, *Silvae* I. vi. (75-80), 158b, f.
- Hitchcock (F. R. Montgomery), notes on the *Commentorium* of Orientius, 41 ff.
- Hittite hieroglyphs, a new decipherment of, 269 f.
- Hittites, the, identified with the Amazons, 57 f.
were they Aryans? 269 f.
- Holmes (T. Rice), F. H. on Portus Itius (see Vol. XXVII. 258 ff.), 45 ff.
Portus Itius, 193 ff.
- Holmes's *Caesar de Bello Gallico*, noticed, 172 ff., 249
- Homeric literature, recent, 128 ff.
geography, 131b
- Homeric Hymns, notes on the, 221 ff.
- horoscope of Augustus, 273a, b
of Horace, 273b
- Hosius's *M. Annaei Lucani Belli Civilis Libri Decem* (Teubner), noticed, 235 f.
- house-planning, ancient Syrian, 165b
- Housman (A. E.), *'Αερῖς οἰκίος* in Eur. *I. A.* (6, 7), 267
- How (W. W.), notice of Holmes's *Caesar de Bello Gallico*, 172 ff.
notice of Riccardi Press Edition, 249
- Hubbell's *Influence of Isocrates on Cicero, Dionysius and Aristides*, noticed, 285
- Hude's *Lysias*, noticed, 12 ff.
- Humphrey's *De Corona*, noticed, 98
- Hunt (A. S.), *The New Lyric Fragments*, 126 ff.
notice of *Dikaiomata*, 23
notice of Lesquier's *Papyrus de Magdola*, 24
notice of Lagercrantz's *Papyrus Graecus Holmiensis*, 28
notice of *Veröffentlichungen aus der Papyrus-Sammlung*, 250 f.
- Hunter (L. W.), notice of Fischer's *Quaestiones Aeneanae*, 169 ff.
- Hutchinson (W. M. L.), Pindar, *Nem.* III. 3: a Reply, 156 f.
- Hutton's *Agricola, Germania* (Loeb Series), noticed, 215
- I.
- illiterates in Egypt, statistics of, 105a
- insects of the ancients, 55b
- J.
- Jackson (J.), notice of Vollmer's *Poetae Latini Minores*, 182
- Jones (H. Stuart), notice of Taylor's *Cults of Ostia*, 26
- Jones (H. Stuart), notice of Platner's *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, 26
- Jones' *Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, noticed, 24b, f.
- Jones' *Companion to Roman History*, noticed, 252b, f.
- Juvenal's *Satires* interpreted in the light of biographical data, 103b
- K.
- Kaines Smith's *Greek Art and National Life*, noticed, 21 f.
- Karsten's *Terentian Scholia*, noticed, 66
- Keller's *Die Antike Tierwelt*, noticed, 53 ff.
- Keene (C. H.), notice of Karsten's *Terentian Scholia*, 66
notice of Sargeaunt's *Terence*, 174
- Knuenz's *De enuntiatis Graecorum finalibus*, noticed, 203 f.
- Kramer's *Valerius Flaccus*, noticed, 19 ff.
- Kukula's *C. Plini Caecili Secundi Epistularum Libri Novem Epistularum ad Traianum Liber Panegyricus* (Teubner), noticed, 134 ff.
- L.
- Lactantius, 284b, f.
- Lagercrantz's *Papyrus Graecus Holmiensis, Recepte für Silber, Steine und Purpur*, noticed, 28
- Lamb (W. R. M.), notice of Fischer's *Thucydides Reliquiae*, 251
- Lawson's *Modern Greek Folklore*, quoted, 263a
- Legions and Auxilia, 226 f.
- Lendrum (W. T.), note on Pindar, *Nem.* III. (3), 86 f.
- Leo, Professor, obituary notice of, 30 f.
- Leo's *History of Latin Literature*, noticed, 206 ff.
- Leonhard's *Hettiter und Amazonen*, noticed, 57
- Lesquier's *Papyrus de Magdola*, noticed, 24
- Leukas-Ithaka, 129b, 131b
- Lex Julia Municipalis, 176a, b
Licinia, 168a, b
Thoria, 168b
- Lexicon Tevntianum*, a projected, 29b
- Lindsay (W. M.), notice of Ernout's *Latin Morphology*, 253
obituary notice of Professor Leo, 30 f.
- Lindsay's *Festus* (Teubner), noticed, 246 f.
- Litchfield's *Cicero's Judgment on Lucretius*, noticed, 100 ff.
- Livius Andronicus, 207a, b
- Livy (XXI. 31, 32), note on, 125 f.
sources of, 125b
- λόγος, on the meaning of in certain passages of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (A. R. Lord), 1 ff.
on the meaning of, in Aristotle (J. Burnet), 6
See Vol. XXVII. 113 ff.
- Lodge (J.), Song: from the Greek of Hybrias the Cretan, 287
- Loew's *Beneventan Script: a History of the South Italian Minuscule*, noticed, 209 f.
- Lord (A. R.), on the meaning of λόγος in certain passages in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1 ff.
See Vol. XXVII. 113 ff.
- Lucan, two editions of, 235 ff.
- Lucian's *De Dea Syria*, Professor Strong's translation of, 61
- Lucretiana, 100 ff.
- Lysias, Hude's edition of, 12 ff.
editions of, 12a
primary MS. of 12b, f.
the Florence MS. of, 13b, f.
work of previous scholars on, 14a, b
notes and suggestions on text of, 14b, f

M.

- M. (J. W.)**, on the *Mensae* of *Aeneid* III. (257) and VII. (116), 89f. f.
Macnaghten (R. E.), Socrates and the δαυμόνιον, 185 ff.
 Magoffin's *The Quinquennales*, noticed, 108
 Majer-Leonhard's Ἀγράμματα, noticed, 105
 Man-god, the idea of the, 242b
 Manatt's *Aegean Days*, noticed, 28b, f.
 Manitiu's *Des Claudius Ptolemäus Handbuch der Astronomie aus dem griechischen übersetzt*, noticed, 53
Marchant (E. C.), note on Plato, *Phaedo*, p. 105a, 228 f.
 Marcus Aurelius, notes on the text of, 219 ff.
 Marius' camp in Gaul, 126b
 Marouzeau's *Conseils pratiques pour la traduction de la Latine*, noticed, 2 1b
 Mars, the Central Italian cult of, 89a
 Masqueray's *Bibliographie pratique de la Littérature grecque*, noticed, 286b
Matthaei (L. E.), notice of Tenney Frank's *Roman Imperialism*, 276 f.
 Maurice's *Numismatique Constantinienne*, noticed, 28
 Mayor (Dr. J. B.), on N.T. use of ἐν and ἐξω, αἰρεῖν and αἰρεῖσθαι, 191 ff.
 McIntosh's *Study of Augustine's Versions of Genesis*, noticed, 239 ff.
 Meillet's *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*, noticed, 23
mensae, in two passages of the *Aeneid*, 89b, f.
 Mills's *Thucydides II.* (introduction by Stuart Jones), noticed, 99a
 Minucius Felix, Waltzing's edition of, 64b
 Mitanni, the, 269b, f.
 Mommsen's *Gesammelte Schriften*, noticed, 180b, f.
 monotheism, the State-cult of Jupiter as evidence for primitive, 243
 Mooney's *The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*, noticed, 15 ff.
 MSS. :—
 of *Anacreontea*, 132 f.
 Archimedes, 51
 de Natura Deor., 64b, f.
 de re coquinaria, 66b
 Heron, 52
 Lucretius (the Leyden), 102b
 Minucius Felix, 64b
 Pliny the Younger, 134 f.
 St. Jerome, 65 f.
 Murray's *Rhesus*, noticed, 201
 musical accent predominant in Greek until the fourth century, 60
 Mutschmann's *Sextus Empiricus*, noticed, 270 f.

N.

- Naevius, 207b
Naylor (H. Darnley), the enclitic forms of ἐγώ and σὺ, with special reference to John xx. 17 and Acts xxvi. 28, 227 f.
 Neher's *Anonymus de Rebus Bellicis*, noticed, 106
 Neugebauer's *Tafeln für Sonne, Planeten und Mond nebst Tafeln der Mondphasen*, noticed, 179
 See also p. 272b
 New Lyric Fragments, the, 73 ff., 126 ff.
Nicklin (T.), notice of Garrod's *Manili Astronomicon, Liber II.*, 271 ff.
 notice of Zimmern's *The Greek Commonwealth*, 93 ff.
 Nicklin's *A Greek Vocabulary for the Use of Schools*, noticed, 99

NOTES, 47 ff., 84 ff., 128, 156 ff., 196 ff., 227 ff., 266 ff.
 NOTES AND NEWS, 69 ff., 109 ff., 143, 215 f., 287

O.

- O. (C.)**, notice of Neher's *Anonymus de Rebus Bellicis*, 106
 OBITUARY, 30 f.
 Odyssey, unity of the, 131a
 Orientius, notes on the *Commonitorium* of, 41 f.
 ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS, 1 ff., 33 ff., 73 ff., 113 ff., 145 ff., 185 ff., 217 ff., 257 ff.
Owen (A. S.) notices of Way's *Theocritus and Quintus Smyrnaeus*, 97 f.
 Owen's *A Brief History of Greece and Rome*, noticed, 99b

P.

- Panathenaic Ship of Herodes Atticus, the, 225 f.
Pantin (W. E. P.), notice of Hauler's *P. Terenti Phormio*, 284b
 notice of Kalinka's *Commentationes Aenipontanae*, 203 f.
 notice of Laurand's *A propos d'Homère*, 281
 notice of Sargeaunt's *P. Terenti Phormio*, 283b
 notice of Thomas' *Plauti Aulularia*, 284a, b
 Papyri :—
 Chicago, 143
 Halle, 23b, f.
 Lille, 24a
 Oxyrynch. (Part X.), 126 f.
 Upsala, 28b
 Pasquali's *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Cratylum Commentaria*, noticed, 271a, b
 Pater's *Marius the Epicurean* (Medici Society), noticed, 24
Paton (W. R.), ἀνωρις—δνωρις, 229
 Corinna, 229
Pearson (A. C.), αἰτναῖοι κἀνθάποι, 223
 notice of Burnet's *Anfänge der griechischen Philosophie*, 250
 Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, noticed, 163 ff.
 Persian Expedition to Delphi, the, 145 ff.
 Delphic version of, 145 ff.
 real object of, 150 f.
Pervigilium Veneris, Mackail's text and translation of the, 137b
 Peterson's *Taciti Dialogus* (Loeb Series), noticed, 214b, f.
 Petschenig's *S. Ambrosii opera* (Corpus. Eccles. Script. Lat.), noticed, 254b, f.
Phaedo, note on two suspected passages in the, 85 f.
Phillimore (J. S.), in *Propertium retractationes selectae*, 7 ff., 79 ff.
 notice of Durel's *Les Instructions de Commodien, and Commodien*, 139 ff.
 Philotheos, Professor Bury's revised text of, 27b
 Phylacus, the hero, 147b
 Pickard-Cambridge's *Public Orations of Demosthenes*, noticed, 142
 pigmies, ancient accounts of, confirmed, 56a
 Pindar, *Nem.* III. 3, note on, 86 f.
 a Reply, 156 f.
 Pisidian Stelae, 196 f.
 Pistratus, 96b, f.
 Plasberg's *Paradoxa, Academica, Timaeus, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Fato*, noticed, 63 f.

- Platner's *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, noticed, 26
 Pliny the Younger, Teubner text of, 134 ff., 288
 pluperfect used for aorist by Propertius, 104
 Plutarch's *De Pythiae Oraculis*, notes on, 217 ff.
Moralia, 257 ff.
 source for Solon (20-24), 38 ff.
 Pöhlmann's *History of the Social Question in the Antique World*, noticed, 90 ff.
 Polybius III. 47-50, note on, 123 ff.
 Porphyry, 182b f.
 conjectural readings in, 183b
 Portus Itius, 45 ff., 82 ff., 193 ff.
See also Vol. XXVII. 258 ff.
 Posidonius, 63b, 178a
 Postgate (J. P.), on Thucydides II., 48 (3), 84 f.
Ἀνέμους, 197b, f.
 Powell (J. U.), note on Euripides (*Bacchae*, 659), 48b
 on a new fragment of Callimachus' *Altra*, 88
 Dr. J. B. Mayor on the use of *ἐν* and *ἐνστί*, *αἰρεῖν* and *αἰρεῖσθαι*, in the New Testament, 191 ff.
 Preisendanz's *Carmina Anacreontea*, noticed, 132 f.
 Princeton expeditions to Syria, 165 f.
 Proetidae, story of the, 37
 Propertium, *Retractationes Selectae* in, 7 ff., 79 ff.
 prose metre, two dissertations on, 214
 rhythm in Welsh and English, with special reference to the Latin *Cursus*, 151 ff.
 proverbs about treasure-trove, 263a
 Ptolemaic Egypt, judicial system of, 201
 Ptolemy Soter, cult of, 200a
 Ptolemy's *Syntaxis*, German translation of, 53
 Pythagorean astronomy, 22b
- R.
- Reed (J. S. Blake), notice of Hardy's *Roman Laws and Charters*, 176
 Rehdanz and Carnuth's *Anabasis* of Xenophon, noticed, 98b
 Reid (J. S.), notice of Bouchier's *Life and Letters in Roman Africa*, 26 f.
 notice of Riepl's *Ancient Methods of Communication*, 58 ff.
 notice of Haverfield's *Ancient Town Planning*, 244 ff.
 Reid's *Lucretiana*, noticed, 102 f.
Municipalities of the Roman Empire, noticed, 171 f.
 Reiter's S. Hieronymi in Hieremian Libri Sex (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*), noticed, 65b, f.
 Rennie (W.), on two passages in Demosthenes' *For Phormio*, 267b, f.
 Reviews, 12 ff., 50 ff., 90 ff., 128 ff., 159 ff., 198 ff., 230 ff., 269 ff.
 Rhone, Hannibal's march along the, 123 ff.
 Richards (Herbert), notice of Hall's *Companion to Classical Texts*, 133 f.
 notice of Rogers' *The Peace of Aristophanes*, 286
 on Plutarch's *Moralia*, 257 ff.
 Riepl's *Ancient Methods of Communication*, noticed, 58 f.
 Riese, *Das rheinische Germanien*, noticed, 255 f.
 rite of adolescence-initiation, the, 36 ff.
 Ritzfeld's *Procli Diadochi Lycii Institutio Physica*, noticed, 271b
 Roberts (W. Rhys), *Prose Rhythm in Welsh and English*, with special reference to the Latin *Cursus*, 151 ff.
 Robinson Ellis, Professor Gildersleeve's reminiscences of, 70
- Roemer's *Aristarch's Athetesen in der Homerkritik*, noticed, 141 f.
Homerische Aufsätze, noticed, 130
 Rogers' *The Peace of Aristophanes*, noticed, 286
 Roma Quadrata, 245b
 Roman army, the, in Africa, 105 f.
 topography, 26b
 Romans, mixed origin of the, 71
 Rose (H. J.), 'Fairy Gold'—an ancient belief, 202 f.
 note on Soph. O. T. (980-2), 230
 Rothe's *Die Odyssee als Dichtung und ihr Verhältnis zur Ilias*, noticed, 130 ff.
 Rouse (W. H. D.), notice of Jones' *Companion to Roman History*, 252 f.
 notice of Majer-Leonhard's *Ἀρχαίμαχοι*, 105
 notice of Manatt's *Aegean Days*, 28 f.
 notice of Pater's *Marinus the Epicurean* (Medici Society), 24
 notice of the Princeton Expeditions to Syria, 165 f.
 notice of Watson's *Vives on Education*, 247 f.
 Roxburgh (J. P.), notice of Stuttaford's *Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus*; Cornish, Postgate, and Mackail's *Catullus, Tibullus and the Pervigilium Veneris*; Davis' *Translations from Catullus*; 137 ff.
- S.
- Σ., notices of school books, 98 ff., 277 f.
 S. (E. C.), hendecasyllabic rendering of Middleton's 'Oh, silver girl,' 30
 St. Augustine's Versions of Genesis, 239 f.
 St. Jerome's Epistles, 65a, b
 in Hieremian, 65 f.
 his free treatment of his Vulgate text, 65b
 St. Thomas Aquinas on the enthymeme, 118a
 San Nicolo's *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer*, noticed, 200
 Sandys (Sir John), note on Demosthenes, *Leptines*, 128
 notice of Hude's *Lysias*, 12 ff.
 notice of Keller's *Die Antike Tierwelt*, 53 ff.
 Sappho's Ode, 189 f.
 Sargeant's *P. Terenti Phormio*, noticed, 284
Terence: with an English Translation (Loeb Library), noticed, 174 f.
 Sayce (A. H.), Pisidian Stelae, 196 f.
 Schanz's *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, noticed, 103 f.
 school books, noticed, 98 ff., 210 ff.
 scorpions, supposed suicide of, explained, 57b
 Seaton (E. C.), notice of Mooney's *The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*, 15 ff.
 The Aristotelian Enthymeme, 113 ff.
 Semeka's *Ptolemäisches Prozessrecht*, noticed, 201
 Shackie (R. J.), Calpurnius, *Idyll V.* (60-61), 268a
 Demosthenes' *Leptines* (139), 49b, f.
 Valerius Flaccus V. (565), 268b
 Sheppard (J. T.), note on Rhesus (287 ff.), 87 f.
 Shewan (A.), Greek Elegiac rendering of 'The radiant morn hath past away'; notices of (1) Van Leeuwen's *Homeri Carmina*; (2) Finsler's *Homer*; (3) Roemer's *Homerische Aufsätze*; (4) *Die Odyssee als Dichtung und ihr Verhältnis zur Ilias*, 128 ff.
 SHORT NOTICES, 21 ff., 60 ff., 104 ff., 141 f., 177 ff., 213 ff., 247 ff., 279 ff.
 signalling, ancient military methods of, 59a
 Simbeck's *M. Tulli Ciceronis Cato Maior de Senectute Liber* (Teubner), noticed, 205 f.
 Skaras (Saras), the river, 123b, 124b, 125b, f.
 was it the Durance? 126
 the forms *Isapas*, *Isapa*, *ib*.
 Smyth's *Composition of the Iliad*, noticed, 230 f.
 Social Question, history of the, in the antique world, 90 ff.

Socrates and the *δαμνίων*, 185 ff.
 Solon, Plutarch's sources for the life of, 38 ff.
Sonnenschein (E. A.), 'Alcmena Euripidi,' 40 f.
 notice of Westaway's *Quantity and Accent in the Pronunciation of Latin*, 213 f.
 Sophocles, O. T. 980 2, note on, 230
 Statius, *Silvae*, I. vi. 75-80, note on, 158b, f.
 Steiner's *Der Fiskus der Ptolemaeer*, noticed, 200b, f.
 Stoicism, influence of, on Roman life and literature, 208b
 Stoics and Sceptics, 62 f.
 stress accent does not emerge in Greek until the fourth century, 60
Strijd (J. H. W.), Ad Plutarchi *De Pythiae Oraculis*, 217 ff.
 Strong's Syrian Goddess, noticed, 61
 Stuttaford's *Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus*, noticed, 137 f.
 subjunctive with short vowel, 18a
Summers (Walter C.), notice of Kramer's *Valerius Flaccus*, 19 ff.
 on Dryden and Statius, 268b, f.
 Swindler's *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo*, noticed, 62

T.

T. (E. M. W.), notice of Jones' *Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, 24 f.
 notice of Gardner's *Principles of Greek Art*, 249
Taylor (Margaret E. T.), notes on two suspected passages in the *Phaedo*, 85 f.
 Taylor's *Cults of Ostia*, noticed, 25b, f.
 Teanum Sidicinum, 10b
τελετή, meaning of the word, 36 ff.
 Tenney Frank's *Roman Imperialism*, noticed, 276 f.
 Terence, Scholia of the Commentary of Donatus on, 66
 Teufel's *Zur Geschichte der Frauenemanzipation in alten Rom*, noticed, 204 f.
 Teuffel's *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, noticed, 103
 Thomas' *Planti Aulularia*, 284
 Thompson's *First Year Latin Book*, noticed, 210
 Thompson's (R. Campbell) *A New Decipherment of Hittite Hieroglyphs*, noticed, 269 f.
 Thucydides II. 48.3, note on, 84 f.
 Thulius' *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, noticed, 108b, f.
 Thumb's revision of Brugmann's *Griechische Grammatik* (fourth edition), noticed, 60b, f.
 Tibullus, Postgate's translation of, 138a
 treasure-finding, modern Greek superstitions about, 262
 Tristram's *Land of Israel*, quoted, 89a
Turner (E. L.), notice of Meillet's *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*, 23
 notice of Brugmann's *Griechische Grammatik*, 60 f.
 notice of Ehrmann's *Untersuchungen über die Natur der griechischen Betonung*, 60

U.

Underhill (G. E.), Aristotle, *Prior Analytics*, II. (23), 33 ff.

V.

Valerius Flaccus, note on, 268b
 MSS. of, 20 f.
 Statius imitates, 20b, f.
 Teubner editions of, 19 ff.
 Van Leeuwen's *Homeri Carmina*, noticed, 128 f.
 variety of rhythm, 155b

vase-painting, its relation to the great mural paintings, 163a
 vase paintings illustrating the lost *Alkmeone* of Euripides, 40b
Veröffentlichungen aus der Papyrus-Sammlung der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München, noticed, 250b, f.
 Verrius Flaccus, 246b
Versions, 30, 111, 287
 Viedebant's *Quaestiones Epiphaniae metrologicae et criticae*, noticed, 199
 Virgil and the boy Octavian, 119 ff.
 Virgil, notes on:
Aen. VII. (748-9), 88 f.
 on the mensae of *Aen. III.*, 257, and *VII.* (116), 89 f.
Culex (24-41), 119 ff.
 Vollmer's *Poetae Latini Minores*, noticed, 182
 Vrba and Zycha's *S. Aureli Augustini Opera (Corpus Eccles. Script. Lat.)*, noticed, 254

W.

Walters (C. F.), notice of Weissenborn's *Titi Livi a.u.c. libri*, 179b, f.
 Waltzing's *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius*, noticed, 64 f.
Watson (E. W.), notices of *Hieronymi Epistolae* and *Hieronymi in Hieremian (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiast. Lat.)*, 65
 notices of *S. Aureli Augustini Opera*, and *S. Ambrosii Opera*, 254 f.
 Watson's *Vives on Education*, noticed, 247 f.
 Way's *Theocritus and Quintus Smyrnaeus* (translations), noticed, 97 f.
 Weis-Liebersdorf's *Diadochos de Perfectione Spirituali*, noticed, 271b
 Weissenborn's *Titi Livi a.u.c. libri*, noticed, 179b, f.
 Weller's *Athens and its Monuments*, noticed, 166 f.
 Westaway's *Quantity and Accent in the Pronunciation of Latin*, noticed, 213b, f.
White (Hugh G. Evelyn), some notes on the Homeric Hymns, 221 ff.
Wilkinson (Spenser), note on Polybius III. 47-50, and Livy XXI. (31, 32), 123 ff.
 William of Moerbeke's translation of Archimedes, 51a
Williams (Marie V.), notice of Apelt's *Platonische Aufsätze*, 281b, f.
 notice of Entz's *Pessimismus und Weltflucht bei Platon*, 282
 Wissant as a medieval port, 46 f., 83
 water-supply of, 47, 83 f., 194b, ff.
 Wissowa and Kroll's *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie (Hes-tiaia-Hyagnis)*, noticed, 177b, f.
Witton (W. F.), on the derivation of the word *πρόλεμος*, 266 f.
 Woodward and Mattingly's *St. John Damascene, Barlaam and Joasaph*, noticed, 280b
Wright (F. A.), note on the word *κρηδεμνον*, 49
 wryneck as a magical bird, the, 54b

X.

X., notice of Leonhard's *Hettiter und Amazonen* and Bennett's *Religious Cults associated with the Amazons*, 57 f.

Z.

Zimmern's *Greek Commonwealth*, noticed, 93 ff.

II.—INDEX LOCORUM.

- A.
Alcaeus:—
(*Oxyrynch. Pap.* 1233 fr. 1), 75b f., 127b; (fr. 2), 76b f.; (fr. 32), 77a, b; (*Pap.* 1233 fr. 4), 77b; (*Pap.* 1234 fr. 3), 77b f.
- Apollonius Rhodius:—
Argonautica I. (103, 269), 17b; (372, 517), 16b; (934 coll. Cat. iv. 19 sqq., *Aen.* v. 831), 17b; (987), 16b; (1216), 17b; II. (590, 1179), 17b; III. (26, 91, 321, 641), 18a; (745), 16a; (1383, 1393), 18b; IV. (501), 18b; (1405 sqq., 1423 sqq.), 203b; (1646), 17a
- Apuleius:—
Apol. c. 9 (p. 11, ll. 17, 19), c. 39 (p. 45, l. 1), 181b
Met. xi. (18), *ib.*
- Aristotle:—
Anal. Prior. II. (23 coll. I. 30, *Anal. Post.* I. 18, 31, 34, II. 2, 13, 17, 19), 33 ff.; (27), 118b
Met. A. 3 (1070^a 30), *ib.* 4 (1070^b 32), 7a
Nic. Eth. I. (1102^b 14, 17, 24), 3b f.; II. (1103^b 31), *ib.* (1103^b 33), 6b (1107a), 6 f.—*see also* Vol. XXVII. 113 ff.; VI. (1138^b 19), 3a, (1139^a 23), *ib.*, (1144^b 27), 2a, b, 6b f.; VII. (1149^a 25), 3a; X. (1179^b 26), *ib.*
Rhet. I. (1. 11), 116b; (2. 13), 116a; II. (21. 6), 116b
- C.
C. I. L. (xi. 3593), 276a, b
Caesar:—
de Bell. Gall. (II. 35. 1; III. 10), 173a
Callimachus:—
Atria (New Fragment, in *Sitzungsberichte der kön. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschft.*), 88a
Calpurnius:—
Idyll V. (60 sq.), 268a
Cicero:—
ad Att. X. (12. 2), 283b
Orator (214), 155b
Topica (55), 117b
Ctesias:—
Περσικῶν (II. 5), 147a
- D.
Demosthenes:—
Leptines (C. 7), 49b f.; (C. 139), 50b, 128a, b
Phormio. (§ 47), 268a; (§ 50), 267b f.
- Diodorus:—
XI. (14), 147a
- E.
Euripides:—
Bacch. (659), 48b; (677 sq.), 47 f.
I.A. (7 sq.), 190 f.
Rhesus (287 sqq.), 87 f.
Troad. (508), 49a, b
- H.
Herodotus:—
VII. (132), 145b; VIII. (35), 145a; (54), 146a
Hesychius:—
(*Nauck Adesp.* 201), 87a
Homer:—
Iliad I. (66), XXIII. (117), 36b
Homeric Hymns:—
ad Apoll. (402), 221a
ad Herm. (41, 188, 346), 221b f.
ad Hest. XXIV. (4), XXIX. (8 sqq.), 222b f.
Horace:—
Odes IV. (5. 34), 276b
- J.
Justin:—
Epit. Trog. Pomp. (II. 12. 8), 147a, 148a
- L.
Livy:—
XXI. (31 sq.), 124b ff.
Lucan:—
Phars. III. (550 sqq.), 269a; V. (28 sqq.), 237b; (460 sq.), 238b
Lucian:—
Hermotimus 71 (313), 202a
Philops. 32 (58), *ib.*
Timon 40 (153), *ib.*
Lucretius:—
I. (453 sq.), 264 ff.
V. (77, 107), 242a

Lysias:—

Or. II (§§ 24-28), 14b f.; Or. VII. (§ 1, coll. 41, VI. 44, X. 26, XVI. 12, XXI. 18, Deinarchus Or. I. 93), 15; Or. XXX. (§ 6, coll. VI. 44, X. 21), 15

M.

Manilius:—

II. (507 sqq.), 242a

Marcus Aurelius:—

I. (5). 219a; III. (16 § 2), 219b; IV. (3 § 3), (33), 220b; V. (6 § 2, 12, 36), ib.; VI. (16 § 4), ib.; VII. (24), ib.; VIII. (31, 41), 221a; IX. (21, 30), ib.; XI. (11, 18, 20, 26, 34), 221b; XII. (2, 36), ib.

Meleager:—

Stephanus (31 sq.), 229b

N.

New Testament:—

I Cor. vi. (5), 191b f.
Gal. iii. (26-28), 191a
I John iii. (22), v. (14), 192b
St. James i. (17), iv. (2 sq.), 192b
St. John xiv. (13); xvi. (24, 26), 192b
St. Mark vi. (22, 25), 192a
St. Matthew vii. (7), 192b; xx. (20-22), 192a

O.

Orientius:—

Commonitorium I. (35 sqq., 145 sqq.), II. (181 sq.), 41; II. (190 coll. 58), 42a, b

Orosius V. (16), 126b

P.

Pausanias:—

X. (3. 7), 147b; (14. 5), ib.; (19. 1), 148a

Phaedrus:—

V. (vi. 6), 263a

Philostratus:—

Vitae Sophistarum II. (v.), 225 f.

Pindar:—

Nem. III. (3), 86 f., 156 f.

Plato:—

Alcib. I. (103A-B), 188b
Apol. (24B, 40A-B), 188a; (27B-E), 188b
Crito (46B), 6a
Euthyd. (272E), 188b
Euthyphro (2B), 187a
Phaedo I. (72D), 85a, b; II. (74C), 85b f.; II. (105A), 228 f.
Polit. (310C), 2b

Plautus:

Mil. Gl. (552), 266a
Rud. (86 coll. 576 sqq., Amphitruo 109a sqq., 1062, 1067), 40 f.; (1256), 263

Plutarch:—

de Pyth. Orac. C. 2 (395B), 3 (395F), 4 (396B), 7 (397B), 217; C. 7 (397C), (397D), 9 (398E), 10 (399A), 218a; C. 11 (399E), 12 (400A), 12 (400D), 16 (401F), 218b; C. 19 (403F), 20 (403F), 27 (407F), 219a; C. 29 (408F), 219b

Plutarch—continued.

Moralia (Bernadakis. ed. Teubn.):—(7E, 8B, 9A, 13B, 21B), 257a; (41A, 48B, 62D, 87D, 90C, 94E, 96D), 257b; (109D, 110A, 119E, 127C, 140B, 152D, 171E, 181C, 182C, ib. D), 258a; (185A, 190A and 221F, 191B and 211F, ib. D, 195A, 200A, ib. C, 206B, 208B, 210A), 258b; (210B, 213B, 215E, 219F, 220F, 222A, 224C, ib. F), 259a; (225B, 226E, ib. F, 227C, 228A, ib. C, ib. E, ib. F, 230B, 231E, 232E, 234D), 259b; (237D, 238E, 263E, 272C, 285B, 290D), 260a; (294A, 295A, 306B, 307A, 308F, 316C, 317C, 324F), 260b; (326A, 327B, ib. D, 328B, ib. E, 334E, 336B, 347B), 261a; (347F, 349F, 351F, 355A), 261b; (355E, 360B, 361E, 362C, 364E, 366E), 262a; (377C, 380B, 381F, 383A), 262b

Numa (9), 147b

Solon (20-24), 38 ff.

Polybius:—

III. (47-50), 123 ff.

Propertius:—

I. iv. (16), vi. (17), viii. (46), xvi. (2), 7a; xvi. (47), xvii. (3), 7b
II. i. (37), 7b; iii. (27), vi. (5, 12), ix. (13, 15, 17), 8a; x. (23), xiii. (47), 8b; xv. (27 sq., 41), 9a; xvi. (32), xxiv. (13), xxv. (1 sq., 39), 9b; xxv. (45), xxviii. (6, 22), xxix. (3, 4, 5), 10a; xxix. (41), xxxii. (3 sqq.), 10b; xxxii. (15 sq., 61), xxxiv. (83, 93), 11a
III. vii. (45 sq.), viii. (13), 11b; ix. (23 sqq.), 12a, b; xi. (35 sqq.), 79a, (55), 79b; xiii. (5 sqq.), 79b; xiv. (33), xv. (31), xviii. (1-8), 80a; xviii. (9 sq.), xxii. (25), 80b
IV. i. (36, 47), 80b, (65, 71, 81, 124), 81a; ii. (5, 28, 34, 35, 44), 81b; iv. (39, 73 sq., 75, 83), 81b f.; v. (28 sq., 63), 82a, b; vii. (57), 81b

R.

Rhetorica ad Alexandrum (c. 10), 117b

S.

St. Thomas Aquinas:—

(Ad Anal. Post. Ed. Vatic. I., p. 141), 118a

Sappho:—

(Oxyrhynch. Pap. 1231 fr. 1), 73 ff., 127a, b, 189 f.; (fr. 75), 75b, 127b; (Pap. 1232), 75b

Silius Italicus:—

Pun. VIII. (483 sqq.), 274b

Sophocles:—

Ichneut. (300), 224b
O.T. (980-2), 230a, b
Philoct. (493), 227b

Status:—

Achill. I. (443 sqq.), 269b
Silvae I. vi. (75-80), 158b f.

T.

Tacitus:—

Agric. (c. 12, 13, 14, 16, 17), 43a; (c. 21, 22, 23), 43b; (c. 23, 24, 25 sq.), 44a; (c. 29, 38), 44b

Theocritus:—

Epigram xxiv. (5), 161a
Id. i. (106 sq.), 159a, b; vii. (78 sq.), 160a; xxv. (158), 161a; xxvi. (29), 160a f.; xxix. (3), 161a

Theon Smyrnaeus :—
de Astron. (16), 191*b*

Thucydides :—
 I. (26), 149*a*
 II. (48. 3), 84 f.; (72), 149*a*

Tibullus :—
 I. ix. (11), 203*a*

V.

Valerius Flaccus :—
 V. (565), 268*b*

Virgil :—

Aen. III. (257), 89*b* f.; VII. (116 coll. 176), *ib.*;
 (748 sq.), 88

Culex (24-41), 119 ff.

Vitruvius :—

II. (1), 245*a*

X.

Xenophon :—

Memorabilia I. (i. 1), 185*b*; (i. 2), (i. 4), (iii. 4),
 (iv. 2), 186*a*; IV. (iii. 14), 186*b*; (viii. 1, 5, 6),
 187*a*

III.—INDEX VERBORUM.

A.—GREEK.

- A.**
ἀγρεμεν (?), 78*b*
Ἀθηναῖον, 268*a*
ἀθρήματα (Hesych.), 75*a*
αἰτεῖν, αἰτεῖσθαι (N.T.), 192 f.
Αἰτναῖος κάνθαρος, 223 f.
ἀκρίξεν, 47 f.
ἀνάμνησις, 86*a*
ἀναπηρώσας (?), 222*a*
ἀνθρακες ὁ θησαυρός, 263*a*
ἀνωγνῖς—δωνῖς, 229*a*, *b*
ἄζονες, 39*a*
ἀπιδείξις, ἀποδείκνυμι, 148*b* ff.
ἀπολογισμός, 150*b* (n.)
ἄρκον=ἄρκτον (?), 161*a*
ἄσσων, 'throbbing', 191*b*
Ἀσώπιον ὕδωρ, 86 f., 156 f.
αὐξάνιος, 197*b* f.
αὐτόρριζος ἐστία, 87*a*, *b*
- Δ.**
δαμόνιον, 185 ff.
διάνδιχα, 17*b*
- E.**
ἐνθύμημα, 117*b* f.
ἐνι, ἐνεστι (N.T.), 191 f.
ἐπαγωγή, 33 f.
ἐπιπειθέες, 4*a*
- Z.**
ζημία, 'detriment', 'mischief', 142*b*
- H.**
Ἡσσε, 157*b* f.
- Θ.**
Θεὸς Σολμος (inscr.), 166*b*
- K.**
καὶ μὴν, 128*a*, *b*
κάνθων, 224*a*
καταγίξεν, 61*b*
κέρχμαι, 86*b*, 157*b* (n.)
κρήδεμνον, 49*a*, *b*
- Λ.**
λέγειν, epitactic force of, 6*a*
λέπας, 48*a*
λόγος (Aristotle), 2 ff., 6 f.
- M.**
μάστερ (inscr.), 166*b*
- N.**
Νεοπτόλεμος, 266*b*
νοῦς, νοεῖν (Aristotle), 35*b*
νύξ μυστική, 37*b*
- O.**
ὄργια, 'resurrection rites', 61*b*
ὀρθὸς λόγος, *δ*, 2*b* f., 6 f.
- II.**
παρακούειν, 3*a*
παράταξις, 220*a*
παρέλκειν, 250
παρορᾶν, 3*a*
πάσχειν, 85*a*
πένθεα, 'rites of mourning', 61*b*
πενδομάχεντας (?), 74*a*, 127*b*
πύλεμος, 266 f.
πόλις, 266*b*
πολίτευμα (inscr.), 197*a*
προτέλεια, 37*b*
- P.**
ροδόμαλον, 161*b*
- Σ.**
σείριος, 191*b*
σκήπτος, 'tornado', 98*b*
σῶς (σῶος) μένειν, 48*b*
- T.**
τεκμήριον (Aristotle), 115, 117*a*, *b*
τελείος, 'grown up', 36*b*
τελετή, 3*b* ff.
τιῶ=τίμι (?), 78*b*
τραυματιάς, 9*a*
Τριπτόλεμος, 266*b*
- Υ.**
ὑδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε, 263*b*
- Φ.**
φάναι, 3*a*
φθαρτά, τὰ, 34*a*
φλεγμῶνη, 218*a*
φρόνησις=λόγος τῆς ἀρετῆς, 7*a*
φύσις(τέχνη, ἰοία, b

B.—LATIN.

- A.
- absorpsi* (Lucan), 235*b*
aedilis Etruriae, 275*a*
sacris Volcani faciundis (inscr.), 25*b*
akalanthis, 55*a*
alludere, 90*a*
aquāi (genitive, never dative), 264
Arabs (? neuter), 80*a*
ars, 'method' or 'a treatise', 142*a*
artaba, 199*b*
auditus, 'heard of' (Lucan), 236
auxilia, 226 f.
- C.
- cacumina*, 'tree-tops', 268*b*
carbonem pro thesauro, 263*a*
centuriatio, 108*b*
- D.
- demensum*, *demensus cibus*, 89*b*
Domus Divina (inscr.), 43*a*
- E.
- exaudi* = 'O hear my prayer', 9*b*
- F.
- fastibus* = *fastis* (Lucan), 235*b*
'fallitur Iuppiter', 81*a*
Fortuna, 242*a*, *b*
- G.
- genius*, 241*b* f.
gurgēs, 29*a*
- H.
- haustus*, 'handful', 103*a*
hiemum (gen. plur.), not in extant literature, 102*a*
- I.
- iaculatus*, passive (Lucan), 235*b*
- M.
- ? O.L. *mesa* = *libum*, 89*b*
mensa, 'ration, portion', 89*b*
missilia, 42*b*
- O.
- opposito*, 'pledged', 7*a*
- P.
- paniccae mensae*, 89*b*
passer (Catullus), 54*b*
perfricata fronte, 'bluffing', 254*a*
philippeo (Propert.), 79*a*
pontifex Volcani, 25*b*
potens with abl., 11*b*
praeterea (Lucretius' use of), 103*b*
praetor Etruriae, 275*a*
sacris Volcani faciundis (inscr.), 25*b*
pretium facere alicui, 81*a*
princeps peregrinorum (inscr.), 171*a*
principes populi (Livy ix. 36), 275*a*
probatoria, 251*a*
pronus, 41*b*
- Q.
- quinquennales*, 108*a*, *b*
- R.
- regulus*, 55*a*
Roma Quadrata, 245*b*
- S.
- sanct s*, 'inviolable', 120*a*
satura, 208*b*
sensus, 'thought' (Cic.), 102*a*
serui (?), 268*a*
Sidicina (?), 10*b*
simul (Low Lat. use of), 8*a*
- V.
- vacare*, erotic use of, 10*a*
venerandus, 120*a*



The CLASSICAL QUARTERLY and CLASSICAL REVIEW are the Organs of the Classical Association. The QUARTERLY is published in January, April, July, and October; the REVIEW in the other eight months.

The Classical Review

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Vol. XXVIII

DECEMBER, 1914

No. 8

CONTENTS

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS:

	PAGE
Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i> . H. RICHARDS ..	257
'Fairy Gold': An Ancient Belief. H. J. ROSE ..	262
Aquai in Lucretius. H. W. GARROD ..	264

NOTES:

On the Derivation of the Word <i>πρόλεμος</i> . W. F. WITTON ..	266
<i>ἀσθησις</i> <i>αἰσθησις</i> in Eur. <i>I.A.</i> 6-7. A. E. HOUSMAN ..	267
On Two Passages in Demosthenes' <i>For Phormio</i> . W. RENNIE ..	267
Calpurnius and Valerius Flaccus. R. J. SHACKLE ..	268
Dryden and Statius. WALTER C. SUMMERS ..	268

REVIEWS:

Thompson, <i>A New Decipherment of the Hittite Hieroglyphs</i> . H. R. HALL ..	269
Mutschmann's <i>Sexti Empirici Opera</i> ; Pasquali's <i>Procli Diadochi in Platonis Cratylum Commentaria</i> ; Ritzensfeld's <i>Procli Diadochi Lycii Institutio Physica</i> ; Weis-Leibersdorf's <i>Diadochus De Perfectione Spirituali</i> . R. G. B. ..	270
Garrod's <i>Manili Astronomicum, Liber II</i> . T. NICKLIN ..	271
Rosenberg, <i>The City State in Ancient Italy (Der Staat der alten Italiiker)</i> . R. S. CONWAY ..	274
Frank's <i>Roman Imperialism</i> . L. E. MATTHAEI ..	276
School Books. Σ. ..	277

SHORT NOTICES:

<i>Exempla Codicum Graecorum</i> . W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE ..	279
--	-----

SHORT NOTICES (continued):

Butler, <i>Some Leisure Hours of a Long Life</i> . A. D. G. ..	279
Woodward and Mattingly, <i>St. John Damascene, Barlaam and Joasaph</i> . W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE ..	280
Laurand, <i>A propos d'Homère: Progrès et Recul de la Critique</i> . W. E. P. PANTIN ..	281
Apelt's <i>Platonische Aufsätze</i> . MARIE V. WILLIAMS ..	281
Entz's <i>Pessimismus und Weltflucht bei Platon</i> . MARIE V. WILLIAMS ..	282
Herbig's <i>Tituli Faleriorum Veterum Linguis Falisca et Etrusca Conscripti</i> . R. S. C. ..	282
Thomas's <i>Studien zur Lateinischen und Griechischen Sprachgeschichte</i> . R. S. C. ..	283
Latin Comedy. W. E. P. PANTIN ..	283
Fessler's <i>Benutzung der philosophischen Schriften Ciceros durch Lactanz</i> . ALBERT C. CLARK ..	284
Hubbell, <i>The Influence of Isocrates on Cicero, Dionysius and Aristides</i> . R. B. APPLETON ..	285
<i>Bibliotheca Philologica Classica et Archaeologica</i> ; Masqueray, <i>Bibliographie Pratique de la Littérature Grecque des origines à la fin de la période Romaine</i> . R. B. APPLETON ..	285
Rogers, <i>The Peace of Aristophanes</i> . H. RICHARDS ..	286
TRANSLATION ..	286
NOTES AND NEWS ..	287
CORRESPONDENCE ..	287
BOOKS RECEIVED ..	288

LONDON: JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

BOSTON, MASS.: GINN & COMPANY, 29 BEACON STREET

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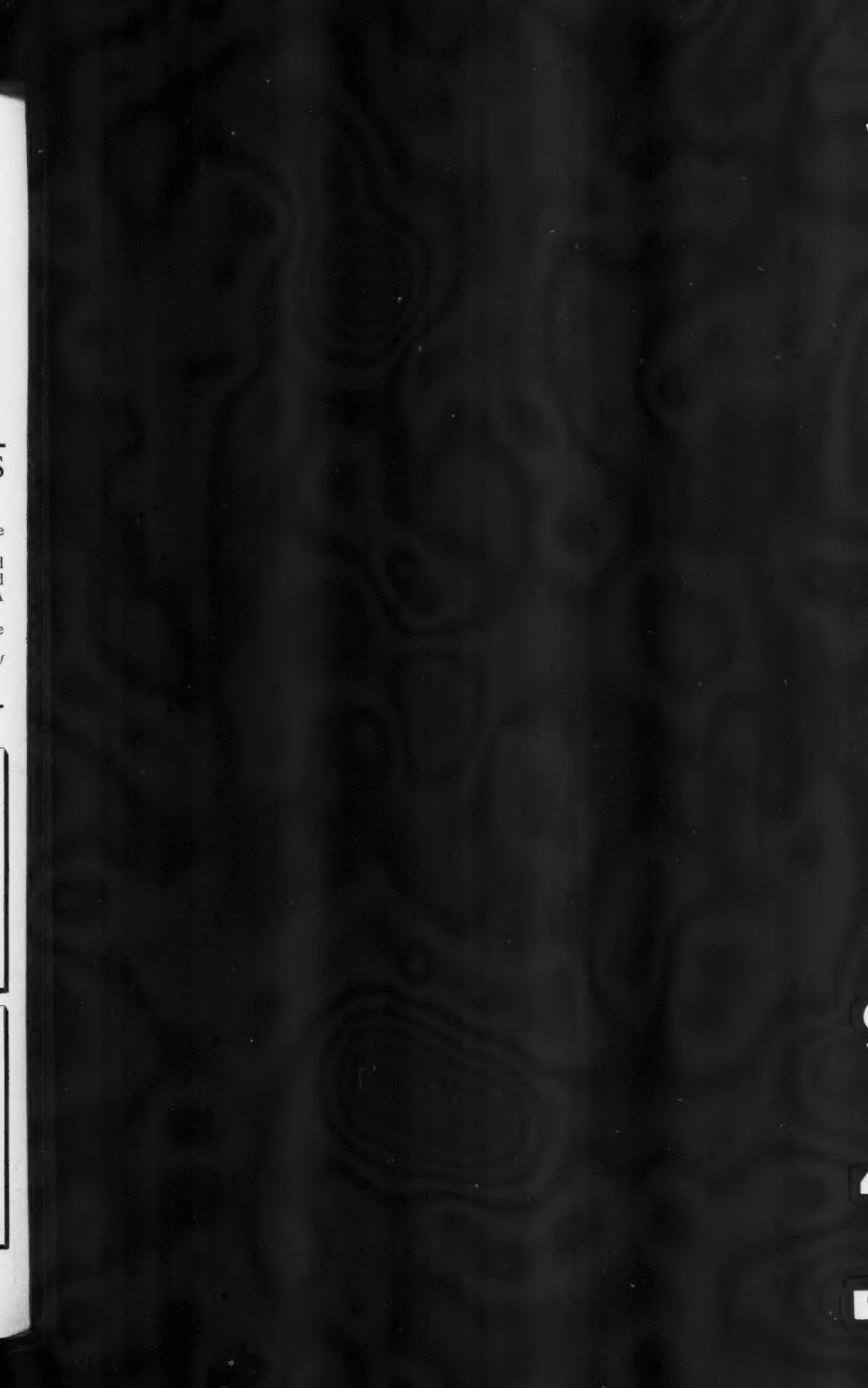
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